The Journal of Historical Review

Volume Thirteen, Number 5 September / October, 1993

Abraham Lincoln and the Issue of Race
Robert Morgan

Pope Pius XII in the Second World War
Mary Ball Martinez

The Holocaust Issue: Three Christian Views
Herman Otten, Joseph Sobran, Louis Vezelis

"Gas Chamber" Fraud at US Holocaust Museum

Legal Assault Against Revisionists in Europe

Faking War Atrocity Stories

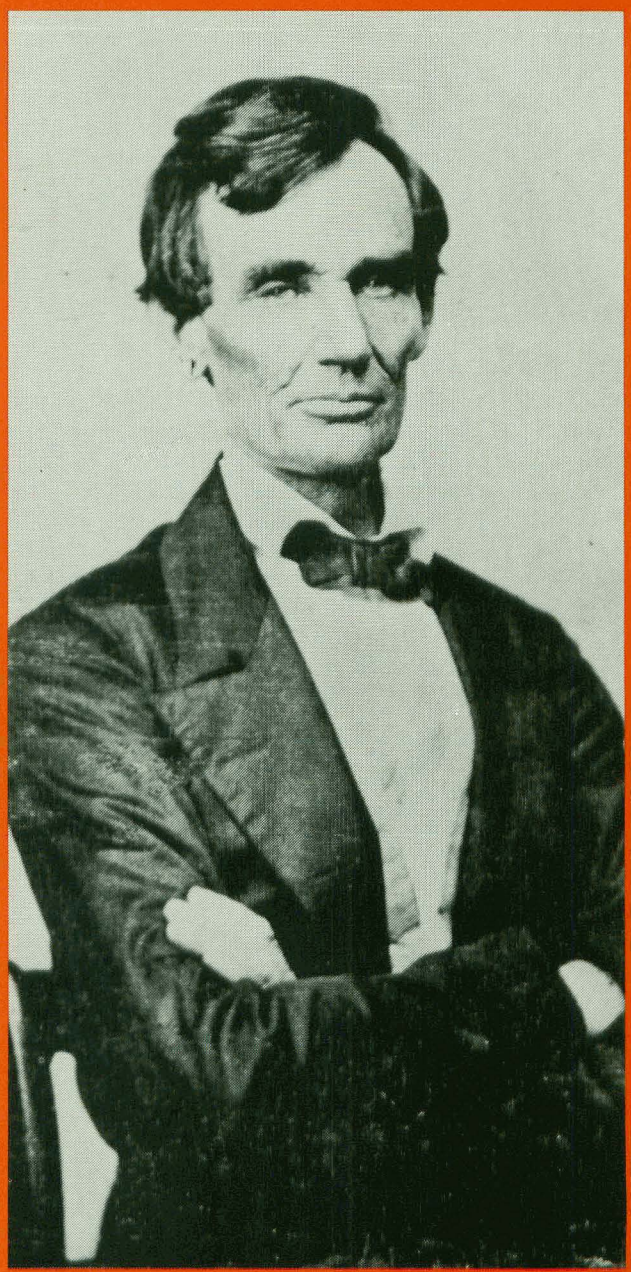
The Adventure of Revisionism
Robert Faurisson

The Holocaust and Middle East Policy
Alfred Lilienthal

Hugh Trevor-Roper to Henri Roques

Penn State: Lesson in Ignorance

—And More—



The War that Never Ends

Nearly fifty years ago, the bombing and the shooting ended in the most total military victories, and the most annihilating defeats, of the modern age. Yet the war lives on, in the words—and the deeds—of the politicians, in the purposeful distortions of the professors, in the blaring propaganda of the media. The Establishment which rules ordinary Americans *needs* to keep World War II alive—in a version which fractures the facts and sustains old lies to manufacture phony justifications for sending America's armed forces abroad in one senseless, wasteful, and dangerous military adventure after another.

Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace is the most authoritative, and the most comprehensive, one-volume history of America's real road into World War II. The work of eight outstanding American historians and researchers, under the editorial leadership of the brilliant Revisionist historian Harry Elmer Barnes, this timeless classic demonstrates why World War II wasn't America's war, and how our leaders, from President Franklin Delano Roosevelt on down, first lied us into the war, then lied us into a maze of international entanglements that have brought America ***Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace***.

More Than Just a History

But ***Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace*** is more than just a history: it's a *case history* of how politicians like FDR use propaganda, outright lies, and suppression of the truth to scapegoat patriotic opposition to war, to incite hatred of the enemy (*before* they're the enemy!), and to lure foreign nations into diplomatic traps—all to serve, not America's national interest, but *international* interests.

Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace gives you:

- Matchless, careful debunking of all the arguments that led us into World War II;
- Detailed, definitive historical sleuthwork exposing FDR's hidden treachery in preparing for war on behalf of Stalin's USSR and the British Empire—while falsely representing Germany and Japan as "aggressors" against America;
- Incisive, unmistakably American perspectives on how the U.S. made a mockery of its own professed ideals during the misnamed "Good War," by allying with imperialists and despots to wage a brutal, pointless war culminating in the massacres of Dresden and Hiroshima and the Yalta and Potsdam betrayals;
- Inspired insight into how future wars have sprung and will continue to spring from the internationalist impetus that led us from World War II, through the "Cold War" (and the hot wars we fought in Korea and Vietnam against our WWII Communist "allies") to the "New World Order"—until Americans, armed with the truth, force their leaders to return to our traditional non-interventionist foreign policy.

Eleven Books in One!

Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace is much, much more than a standard history book. Its *eleven* separate essays by *eight* different authors (average length 65 pages) make it a virtual encyclopedia on the real causes and the actual results of American participation in the Second World War. You'll find yourself reading, and re-reading, concise, judicious and thorough studies by the leading names in American Revisionist scholarship.

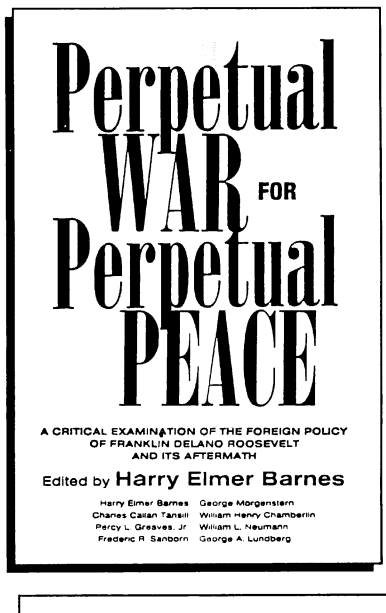
Classic... and Burningly Controversial

Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace, first published in 1953, represents Revisionist academic scholarship at its full and (to date) tragically final flowering in America's greatest universities—just before America's internationalist Establishment imposed a bigoted and chillingly effective blackout on Revisionism in academia.

Its republication by the Institute in 1983 was an event, and not merely because IHR's version included Harry Elmer Barnes' uncannily prophetic essay on "1984" trends in American policy and public life (considered too controversial for conservatives and anti-Communists in the early 50's). It was hailed by the international Revisionist community, led by Dr. James J. Martin, the Dean of living Historical Revisionists, who wrote:

> It is the republication of books such as *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace* which does so much to discommode and annoy the beneficiaries of the New World Order.

Discommode and annoy the enemies of historical truth and freedom of research it did—virtually the entire stock of ***Perpetual War*** was destroyed in the terrorist arson attack on the Institute's offices and warehouse on the Orwellian date of July 4, 1984.


Perpetual
WAR FOR
Perpetual
PEACE
A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE FOREIGN POLICY OF FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT AND ITS AFTERMATH
Edited by Harry Elmer Barnes
Harry Elmer Barnes George Morgenstern
Charles Callan Tansill William Henry Chamberlin
Percy L. Greaves, Jr. William L. Neumann
Frederic R. Sanborn George A. Lundberg

Today, the Institute for Historical Review is proud to be able once more to make this enduring, phoenix-like classic available to you, and to our fellow Americans. It can silence the lies about World War II, and thus the bombs and bullets our interventionist rulers plan—for our own American troops no less than the enemy—in the Middle East, Europe, Africa, Asia, or wherever else the interventionist imperative imposed by World War II may lead us.

PERPETUAL WAR FOR PERPETUAL PEACE
A Critical Examination of the Foreign Policy of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Its Aftermath
Edited by Harry Elmer Barnes
Quality Softcover
740 pages · $18 + $3 shipping
ISBN 0-939484-01-3
INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW
P.O. Box 2739 · Newport Beach, CA 92659

Editor: MARK WEBER
Associate Editor: GREG RAVEN

EDITORIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

GEORGE ASHLEY, Ph.D.
Los Angeles Unified School District (Ret.)

ENRIQUE AYNAT, LL.B.
Torreblanca, Spain

PHILIP BARKER, Ph.D.
Minneapolis, Minnesota

JOHN BENNETT, LL.B.
Australian Civil Liberties Union
Melbourne, Australia

FRIEDRICH P. BERG, B.Sc.
Ft. Lee, New Jersey

ALEXANDER V. BERKIS, LL.M., Ph.D.
Longwood College (Ret.)

W. BEVERAGGI-ALLENDE, Ph.D.
University of Buenos Aires
Buenos Aires, Argentina

ARTHUR R. BUTZ, Ph.D.
Northwestern University
Evanston, Illinois

BOYD CATHEY, Ph.D.
The Southern Partisan

ROBERT H. COUNTESS, Ph.D.
Huntsville, Alabama

ALBERT J. ECKSTEIN, Ph.D.
Private Research Consultant

ROBERT FAURISSON, Ph.D.
University of Lyon-2
Lyon, France

GEORG FRANZ-WILLING, Ph.D.
Überlingen, Germany

VERNE E. FUERST, Ph.D.
Hartford, Connecticut

SAMUEL EDWARD KONKIN III
Long Beach, California

R. CLARENCE LANG, Ph.D., B.D.
Seguin, Texas

MARTIN A. LARSON, Ph.D.
Phoenix, Arizona

JAMES MARTIN, Ph.D.
Colorado Springs, Colorado

CARLO MATTOGNO
Italy

HIDEO MIKI
Professor of History (Ret.)
National Defense Academy
Yokosuka, Japan

REVILO P. OLIVER, Ph.D.
University of Illinois (Ret.)
Urbana, Illinois

HENRI ROQUES, Ph.D.
Colombes, France

WILHELM STÄGLICH, Dr. Jur.
Badenweiler, Germany

UDO WALENDY, Diplo. Pol.
Vlotho/Weser, Germany

ANDREAS R. WESSERLE, Ph.D.
Marquette University (Ret.)
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

The Journal of Historical Review

Volume Thirteen, Number 5 September/October 1993

IN THIS ISSUE

From the Editor 2

Abraham Lincoln and the Issue of Race 4
Robert Morgan

Pope Pius XII During the Second World War 26
Mary Ball Martinez

Italian-American / ADL Conference 30
Russell Granata

The Holocaust Issue: Three Christian Views 32
Herman Otten, Joseph Sobran, Louis Vezelis

Legal Persecution of Revisionists in Europe 36

South African Paliamentarian Under Fire 38

Moynihan and Waldheim Comment on the *Journal* 38

Fraudulent Gas Chamber Portrayal at Holocaust Museum 39

Hugh Trevor-Roper to Henry Roques 40

The Adventure of Revisionism 42
Robert Faurisson

Rumor-Mongering: Fake Wartime Atrocity Stories 43

The Holocaust and Middle East Policy 44
Alfred Lilienthal

Penn State Holocaust Class: Lesson in Ignorance 45

Letters 46

The Journal of Historical Review (ISSN: 0195-6752) began publication in 1980. It upholds and continues the tradition of Historical Revisionism of scholars such as Harry Elmer Barnes, A.J.P. Taylor, William H. Chamberlin, Paul Rassinier and Charles Tansill. *The Journal of Historical Review* is published six times yearly by the **Institute for Historical Review**, P.O. Box 1306, Torrance, Calif. 90505 USA. Subscription price: $40 per year, $65 for two years, and $90 for three years. For foreign subscriptions, add $10 per year. For overseas airmail delivery, add $30 per year. Remittances for subscriptions must be payable in US dollars drawable on a US bank.

Single issues — Spring 1986 (Volume 7) to the present — are available for sale for $7.50 each, plus $1.05 shipping. Back issues of the *Journal* are also available for purchase in hardbound annual volumes for the years 1984, 1985, 1986, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991 and 1992. Please write for our booklist and prices. Quantity subscription and bulk issue rates are available upon request.

Appropriate manuscripts are welcomed by the Editor. They should be double-spaced and accompanied by return postage. Especially welcome are submissions on IBM-compatible computer diskette.

The Journal of Historical Review is listed in standard periodical directories, and is a member of the Conference of Historical Journals. Contributions do not necessarily reflect the views of the Institute for Historical Review.

Except for specifically copyrighted items, permission is hereby given to reprint material from this issue of the *Journal*, provided that no changes or alterations are made without prior arrangement, and providing that the following attribution appears with the material: "Reprinted from *The Journal of Historical Review*, P.O. Box 1306, Torrance, CA 90505, USA. Subscriptions: $40 per year (domestic)." A copy of the reprint should be sent to the Editor.

VINDICATION FOR DEMJANJUK

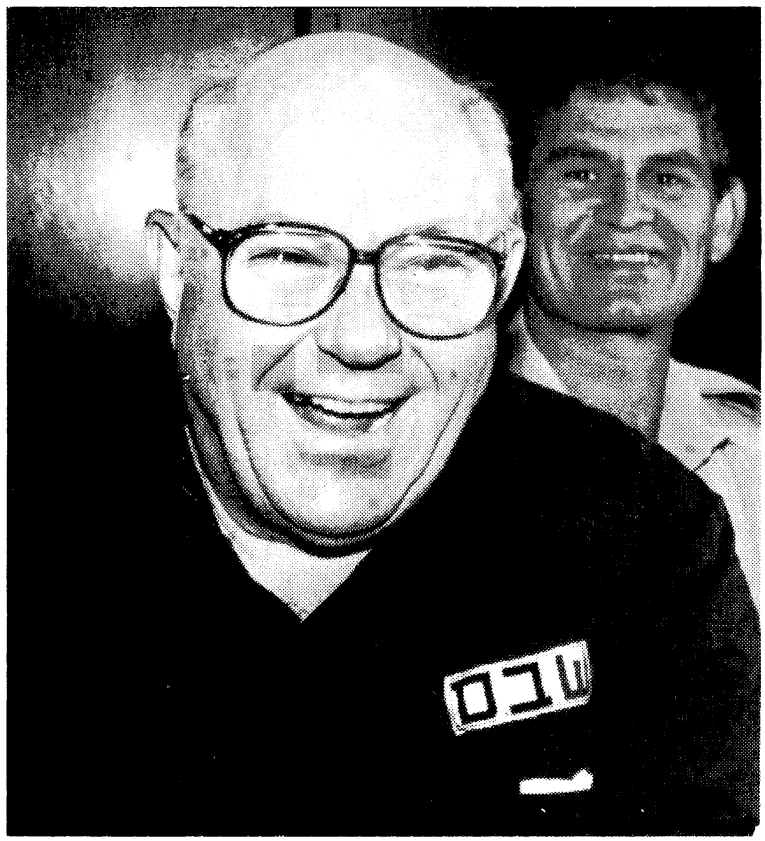
On April 18, 1988, an Israeli court solemnly declared "without hesitation" that a simple Ukrainian-born auto worker, John Demjanjuk, was "the sadistic motorman who had operated the gas chambers at the Nazi death camp in Treblinka." When the verdict was announced, hundreds in the Jerusalem courtroom jumped to their feet and launched into gleeful shouts of "Death! Death! Death!"

Five years later — and just as we were wrapping up this issue of the *Journal* — Israel's Supreme Court acquitted Demjanjuk of the hideous charge of helping to kill hundreds of thousands of Jews. In the face of compelling new evidence, it apparently decided that acquittal was the least damaging way out of what had become a great embarrassment for the Zionist state.

John Demjanjuk's terrible 16-year ordeal has meant destruction of his good name, financial ruin for his family, and seven years imprisonment, five of them under sentence of death. Along with all others who stood with him, we join in expressing joy at this victory of justice. Demjanjuk must now be permitted to return without delay to his family in America.

Ignoring for the moment Israel's role in the case, the actions of our own government should shame every American who cares about justice and fair play. The acquittal is a devastating indictment of the "Office of Special Investigations," the US government agency established to track down "Nazi war criminals." In its zeal to "get" Demjanjuk, the OSI, it later turned out, suppressed and threw aside — in at least one case, literally — evidence that OSI officials knew could have helped to exonerate this naturalized American citizen. Now, more than ever, it is time to shut down the OSI.

Even more culpable, though, have been the US Congressmen and Senators who dutifully voted, year after year, to continue funding the OSI. Throughout this entire affair, Washington's politicians and much of the establishment media — fearful of the power of America's most formidable special interest group — put an alien agenda above all else. To protect their privileged positions, they bowed to the demands of the Holocaust lobby in this assault against justice and the rights of American citizens.



John Demjanjuk in Israel

There was never any legal justification, for example, for the United States to turn Demjanjuk over to Israel — a country that did not even exist at the time of the alleged crimes. The Zionist state had no more right to try Demjanjuk than, let us say, the Vatican has to try Catholics living in the United States for crimes allegedly committed in Brazil. By handing him over, the US government recognized Israel's bizarre claim to act in the name of Jews everywhere.

To their everlasting credit, a hand-

ful of courageous Americans dared to defy the powerful "Never Forget, Never Forgive" lobby. We remember, in particular, Patrick Buchanan, Ohio Congressman James Traficant, and Cleveland businessman (and good friend of the IHR) Jerome Brentar.

Because they demanded justice for Demjanjuk, these courageous men were vilified as anti-Semites and "defenders of Nazi war criminals." These three are owed a great apology. But given the character of Alan Dershowitz, Marvin Hier and their like, it would be foolish to expect any expression of humility or contrition.

Happily, the acquittal of Demjanjuk is an important defeat for the mighty Holocaust lobby — which Britain's chief rabbi, Immanuel Jakobovits, once accurately called "an entire industry, with handsome profits for writers, researchers, filmmakers, monument builders, museum planners and even politicians."

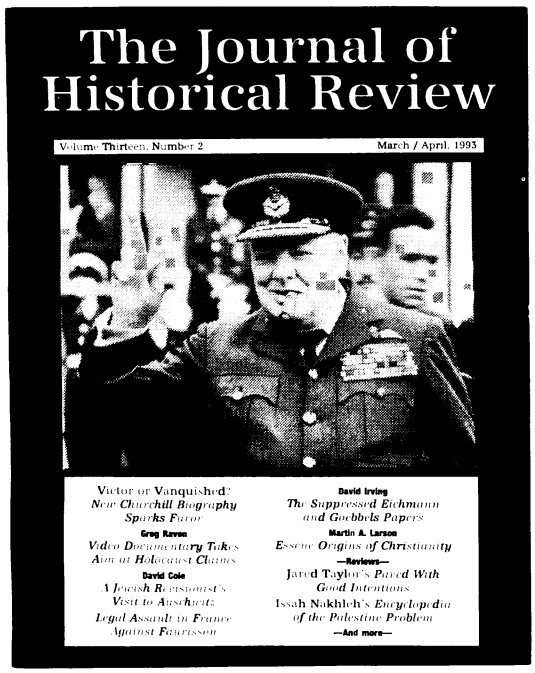
We don't expect many newspapers to stress the point, but the acquittal is also an important vindication of the cause of historical revisionism. For one thing, revisionists have again been confirmed in their decades-long insistence that "eyewitness" testimony — even of Jewish "Holocaust survivors" — must be regarded with the greatest skepticism.

In his highly-publicized trial in Jerusalem, which had many of the elements of a show trial, five Jewish "Holocaust" survivors declared under oath that they recognized Demjanjuk as the mass murderer of Treblinka known as "Ivan the Terrible." The judges cited this "eyewitness" testimony as the most compelling evidence against the accused. Although the five "witnesses" conceivably could have been grievously mistaken, so fantastic and sensational was their testimony that the heavy presumption must be that they lied brazenly.

From the outset, Israel's leaders announced that the well-publicized 1988 trial of Demjanjuk would be an "educational" undertaking that would "teach" the world the "lessons of the Holocaust." The Demjanjuk case certainly does have some important lessons to teach — and we will have much more to say about them in the next issue of the *Journal*.

Note:

We appreciate the help of Mr. Fred Burkhart of Chicago, who took the photographs on pages 2, 15, and 17 of the July-August 1993 issue.


The Journal of Historical Review
Volume Thirteen, Number 2
March / April, 1993
Victor or Vanquished?
New Churchill Biography Sparks Furor
Greg Raven
Video Documentary Takes Aim at Holocaust Claims
David Cole
A Jewish Revisionist's Visit to Auschwitz
Legal Assault in France Against Faurisson
David Irving
The Suppressed Eichmann and Goebbels Papers
Martin A. Larson
Essene Origins of Christianity
—Reviews—
Jared Taylor's Paved With Good Intentions
Issah Nakhleh's Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem
—And more—

Are you reading a borrowed copy of

The Journal of Historical Review?

Why not have your own copy of ***The Journal*** delivered regularly to your home or office?

Now in its exciting new full-sized bi-monthly format, ***The Journal***'s scope has been expanded to embrace a broader revisionism. We're taking on a wider range of issues with the same high regard for facts and the same keen analysis on which ***Journal*** and ***IHR Newsletter*** readers have come to rely.

And now that ***The Journal*** incorporates the ***IHR Newsletter***, you have a single source for an abundance of interesting, insightful news and thoughtful commentary on issues that affect you, your loved ones, your community and the world around you. And you'll be kept right up to date as well on the vital activities of the world's foremost institution dedicated to setting the record straight and keeping it that way, the Institute for Historical Review.

The new ***Journal*** is now published more frequently, it's easier to read, more visually appealing, and addresses a broader range of your interests. But most important is what has *not* changed – the distinctive qualities that have always distinguished the ***The Journal***: its taboo-smashing iconoclasm, its independent, scholarly perspective on issues and events, and its uncompromising devotion to historical honesty.

Subscriptions are still only $40 per year, $65 for two years, or $90 for three years (foreign subscribers please add $10 per year). Please remit by check, money order, VISA or MasterCard. (California Residents must add 7.75% state sales tax.)

So why not subscribe today or why not give a gift subscription to a friend, local public or college library?

INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW • P.O. Box 2739 • Newport Beach, CA 92659

The "Great Emancipator" and the Issue of Race

Abraham Lincoln's Program of Black Resettlement

ROBERT MORGAN

Many Americans think of Abraham Lincoln, above all, as the president who freed the slaves. Immortalized as the "Great Emancipator," he is widely regarded as a champion of black freedom who supported social equality of the races, and who fought the American Civil War (1861-1865) to free the slaves.

While it is true that Lincoln regarded slavery as an evil and harmful institution, it also true, as this paper will show, that he shared the conviction of most Americans of his time, and of many prominent statesmen before and after him, that blacks could not be assimilated into white society. He rejected the notion of social equality of the races, and held to the view that blacks should be resettled abroad. As President, he supported projects to remove blacks from the United States.

Early Experiences

In 1837, at the age of 28, the self-educated Lincoln was admitted to practice law in Illinois. In at least one case, which received considerable attention at the time, he represented a slave-owner. Robert Matson, Lincoln's client, each year brought a crew of slaves from his plantation in Kentucky to a farm he owned in Illinois for seasonal work. State law permitted this, provided that the slaves did not remain in Illinois continuously for a year. In 1847, Matson brought to the farm his favorite mulatto slave, Jane Bryant (wife of his free, black overseer there), and her four children. A dispute developed between Jane Bryant and Matson's white housekeeper, who threatened to have Jane and her children returned to slavery in the South. With the help of local abolitionists, the Bryants fled. They were apprehended, and, in an affidavit sworn out before a justice of the peace, Matson claimed them as his property. Lacking the required certificates of freedom, Bryant and the children were confined to local county jail as the case was argued in court. Lincoln lost the case, and Bryant and her children were declared free. They were later resettled in Liberia.[1]

In 1842 Lincoln married Mary Todd, who came from one of Kentucky's most prominent slave-holding families.[2] While serving as an elected representative in the Illinois legislature, he persuaded his fellow Whigs to support Zachary Taylor, a slave owner, in his successful 1848 bid for the Presidency.[3] Lincoln was also a strong supporter of the Illinois law that forbid marriage between whites and blacks.[4]

"If all earthly power were given me," said Lincoln in a speech delivered in Peoria, Illinois, on October 16, 1854, "I should not know what to do, as to the existing institution [of slavery]. My first impulse would be to free all the slaves, and send them to Liberia, to their own native land." After acknowledging that this plan's "sudden execution is impossible," he asked whether freed blacks should be made "politically and socially our equals?" "My own feelings will not admit of this," he said, "and [even] if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of white people will not. . . We can not, then, make them equals."[5]

One of Lincoln's most representative public statements on the question of racial relations was given in a speech at Springfield, Illinois, on June 26, 1857.[6] In this address, he explained why he opposed the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which would have admitted Kansas into the Union as a slave state:

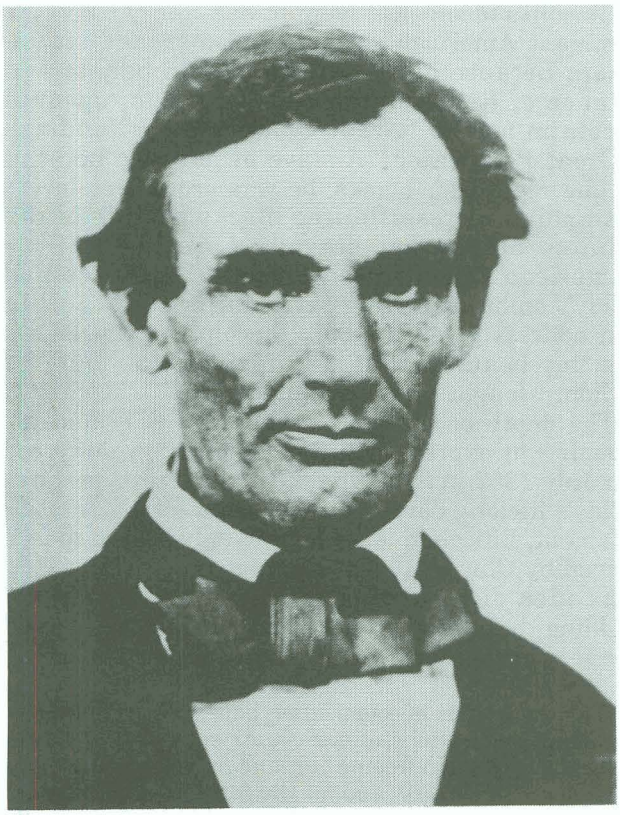
> There is a natural disgust in the minds of nearly all white people to the idea of indiscriminate amalgamation of the white and black races. . . A separation of the races is the only perfect preventive of amalgamation, but as an immediate separation is impossible, the next best thing is to keep them apart where they are not already together. If white and black people never get together in Kansas, they will never mix blood in Kansas . . .

Racial separation, Lincoln went on to say, "must be effected by colonization" of the country's blacks to a foreign land. "The enterprise is a difficult one," he acknowledged,

> but "where there is a will there is a way," and what colonization needs most is a hearty will. Will springs

Robert Morgan is the pen name of a writer who holds a bachelor degree in general studies from Indiana University-Purdue University (Indianapolis), as well as graduate certificates in Public Management (Indiana University, South Bend) and Labor Union Studies (I.U.-Purdue, Indianapolis). He is currently working toward a Master of Public Affairs degree (I.U., South Bend). He has been published more than 65 times in 15 publications including the Indiana Bar Association's *Res Gestae*, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency's *Crime & Delinquency*, Indiana University's *Preface*, *Indiana Criminal Law Review*, and the Indianapolis *Star*.

from the two elements of moral sense and self-interest. Let us be brought to believe it is morally right, and, at the same time, favorable to, or, at least, not against, our interest, to transfer the African to his native clime, and we shall find a way to do it, however great the task may be.



Lincoln at the time of the Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858

To affirm the humanity of blacks, Lincoln continued, was more likely to strengthen public sentiment on behalf of colonization than the Democrats' efforts to "crush all sympathy for him, and cultivate and excite hatred and disgust against him . . ." Resettlement ("colonization") would not succeed, Lincoln seemed to argue, unless accompanied by humanitarian concern for blacks, and some respect for their rights and abilities. By apparently denying the black person's humanity, supporters of slavery were laying the groundwork for "the indefinite outspreading of his bondage." The Republican program of restricting slavery to where it presently existed, he said, had the long-range benefit of denying to slave holders an opportunity to sell their surplus bondsmen at high prices in new slave territories, and thus encouraged them to support a process of gradual emancipation involving resettlement of the excess outside of the country.

Earlier Resettlement Plans

The view that America's apparently intractable racial problem should be solved by removing blacks from this country and resettling them elsewhere — "colonization" or "repatriation" — was not a new one. As early as 1714 a New Jersey man proposed sending blacks to Africa. In 1777 a Virginia legislature committee, headed by future President Thomas Jefferson (himself a major slave owner), proposed a plan of gradual emancipation and resettlement of the state's slaves. In 1815, an enterprising free black from Massachusetts named Paul Cuffe transported, at his own expense, 38 free blacks to West Africa. His undertaking showed that at least some free blacks were eager to resettle in a country of their own, and suggested what might be possible with public and even government support.[7]

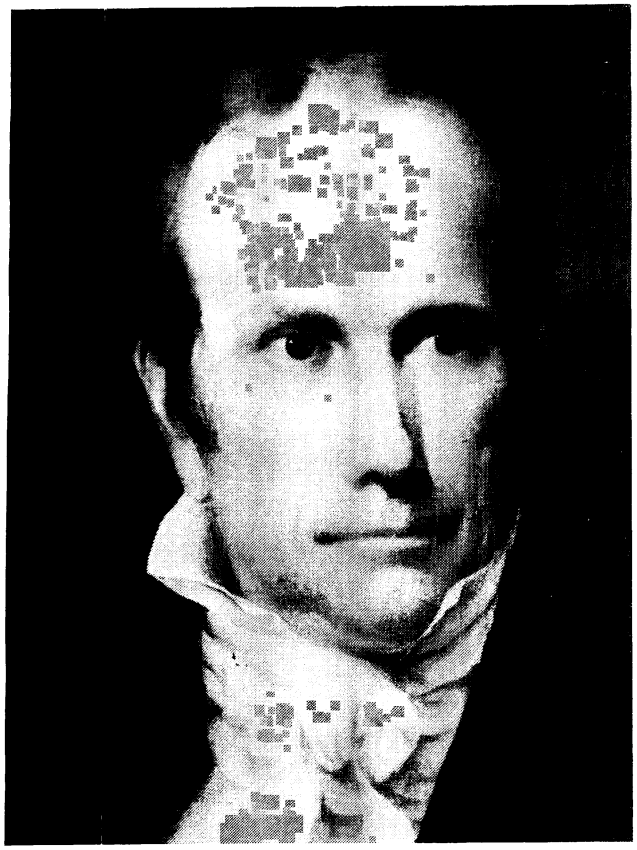
In December 1816, a group of distinguished Americans met in Washington, DC, to establish an organization to promote the cause of black resettlement. The "American Colonization Society" soon won backing from some of the young nation's most prominent citizens. Henry Clay, Francis Scott Key, John Randolph, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Monroe, Bushrod Washington, Charles Carroll, Millard Fillmore, John Marshall, Roger B. Taney, Andrew Jackson, Daniel Webster, Stephen A. Douglas, and Abraham Lincoln were members. Clay presided at the group's first meeting.[8]

Measures to resettle blacks in Africa were soon undertaken. Society member Charles Fenton Mercer played an important role in getting Congress to pass the Anti-Slave Trading Act of March 1819, which appropriated $100,000 to transport blacks to Africa. In enforcing the Act, Mercer suggested to President James Monroe that if blacks were simply returned to the coast of Africa and released, they would probably be re-enslaved, and possibly some returned to the United States. Accordingly, and in cooperation with the Society, Monroe sent agents to acquire territory on Africa's West coast — a step that led to the founding of the country now known as Liberia. Its capital city was named Monrovia in honor of the American President.[9]

With crucial Society backing, black settlers began arriving from the United States in 1822. While only free blacks were at first brought over, after 1827, slaves were freed expressly for the purpose of transporting them to Liberia. In 1847, black settlers declared Liberia an independent republic, with an American-style flag and constitution.[10]

By 1832 the legislatures of more than a dozen states (at that time there were only 24), had given official approval to the Society, including at least three slave-holding states.[11] Indiana's legislature, for example, passed the following joint resolution on January 16, 1850:[12]

> Be it resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Indiana: That our Senators and Representatives in Congress be, and they are hereby requested, in the name of the State of Indiana, to call for a change of national policy on the subject of the African Slave



Because of his extraordinary political skill, Henry Clay won national acclaim as the "Great Compromiser." Lincoln called him "my beau ideal of a statesman." Clay served as president of the American Colonization Society, which sought the resettlement of blacks outside of the United States.

> Trade, and that they require a settlement of the coast of Africa with colored men from the United States, and procure such changes in our relations with England as will permit us to transport colored men from this country to Africa, with whom to effect said settlement.

In January 1858, Missouri Congressman Francis P. Blair, Jr., introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives to set up a committee

> to inquire into the expediency of providing for the acquisition of territory either in the Central or South American states, to be colonized with colored persons from the United States who are now free, or who may hereafter become free, and who may be willing to settle in such territory as a dependency of the United States, with ample guarantees of their personal and political rights.

Blair, quoting Thomas Jefferson, stated that blacks could never be accepted as the equals of whites, and, consequently, urged support for a dual policy of emancipation and deportation, similar to Spain's expulsion of the Moors. Blair went on to argue that the territory acquired for the purpose would also serve as a bulwark against any further encroachment by England in the Central and South American regions.[13]

Lincoln's Support for Resettlement

Lincoln's ideological mentor was Henry Clay, the eminent American scholar, diplomat, and statesman. Because of his skill in the US Senate and House of Representatives, Clay won national acclaim as the "Great Compromiser" and the "Great Pacificator." A slave owner who had humane regard for blacks, he was prominent in the campaign to resettle free blacks outside of the United States, and served as president of the American Colonization Society. Lincoln joined Clay's embryonic Whig party during the 1830s. In an address given in 1858, Lincoln described Clay as "my beau ideal of a statesman, the man for whom I fought all of my humble life."[14]

The depth of Lincoln's devotion to Clay and his ideals was expressed in a moving eulogy delivered in July 1852 in Springfield, Illinois. After praising Clay's lifelong devotion to the cause of black resettlement, Lincoln quoted approvingly from a speech given by Clay in 1827: "There is a moral fitness in the idea of returning to Africa her children," adding that if Africa offered no refuge, blacks could be sent to another tropical land. Lincoln concluded:[15]

> If as the friends of colonization hope, the present and coming generations of our countrymen shall by any means succeed in freeing our land from the dangerous presence of slavery, and, at the same time, in restoring a captive people to their long-lost fatherland, with bright prospects for the future, and this too, so gradually, that neither races nor individuals shall have suffered by the change, it will indeed be a glorious consummation.

In January 1855, Lincoln addressed a meeting of the Illinois branch of the Colonization Society. The surviving outline of his speech suggests that it consisted largely of a well-informed and sympathetic account of the history of the resettlement campaign.[16]

In supporting "colonization" of the blacks, a plan that might be regarded as a "final solution" to the nation's race question, Lincoln was upholding the views of some of America's most respected figures.

Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858

In 1858 Lincoln was nominated by the newly-formed Republican Party to challenge Steven Douglas, a Democrat, for his Illinois seat in the US Senate. During the campaign, "Little Giant" Douglas focused on the emotion-charged issue of race relations. He accused Lincoln, and Republicans in general, of advocating the political and social equality of the white and black races, and of thereby promoting racial amalgamation. Lincoln

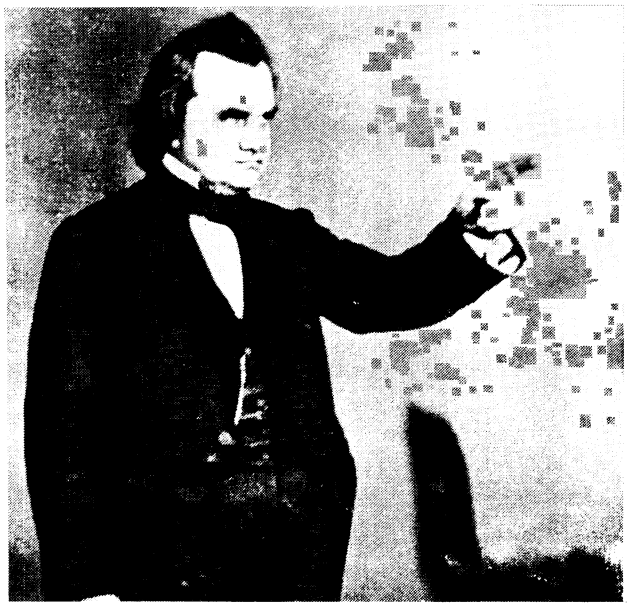
responded by strenuously denying the charge, and by arguing that because slavery was the chief cause of miscegenation in the United States, restricting its further spread into the western territories and new states would, in fact, reduce the possibility of race mixing. Lincoln thus came close to urging support for his party because it best represented white people's interests.

Between late August and mid-October, 1858, Lincoln and Douglas travelled together around the state to confront each other in seven historic debates. On August 21, before a crowd of 10,000 at Ottawa, Lincoln declared:[17]

> I have no purpose directly or indirectly to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so.

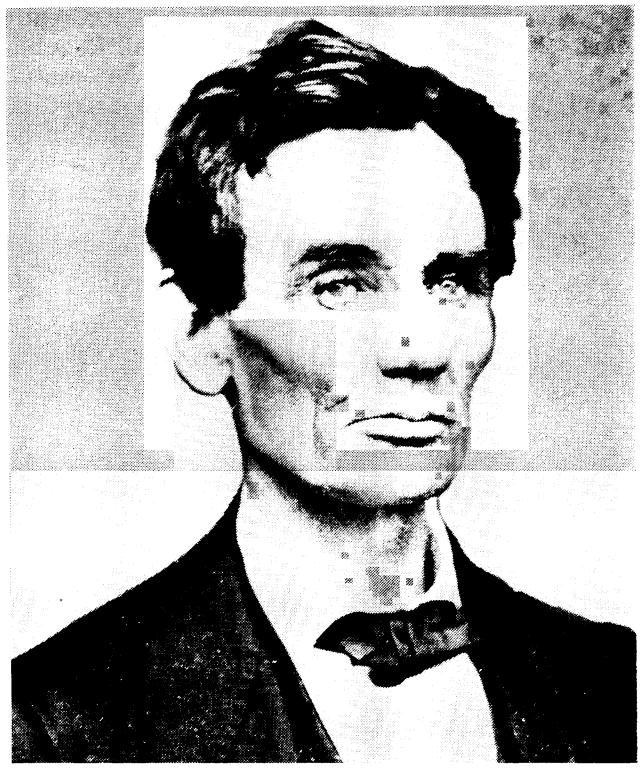
He continued:

> I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and black races. There is physical difference between the two which, in my judgment, will probably forever forbid their living together upon the footing of perfect equality, and inasmuch as it becomes a necessity that there must be a difference, I, as well as Judge Douglas, am in favor of the race to which I belong having the superior position.



Stephen A. Douglas, known as the "Little Giant" of Illinois, successfully fended off Lincoln's 1858 challenge to his US Senate seat. The two men confronted each other in a series of well-publicized debates that elevated Lincoln to national prominence.

Many people accepted the rumors spread by Douglas supporters that Lincoln favored social equality of the races. Before the start of the September 18 debate at Charleston, Illinois, an elderly man approached Lincoln in a hotel and asked him if the stories were true. Recounting the encounter later before a crowd of 15,000, Lincoln declared:[18]



Lincoln as a presidential candidate, 1860

> I will say then that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races; I am not nor ever have been in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people.

He continued:

> I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I, as much as any other man, am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race.

Candidate for President

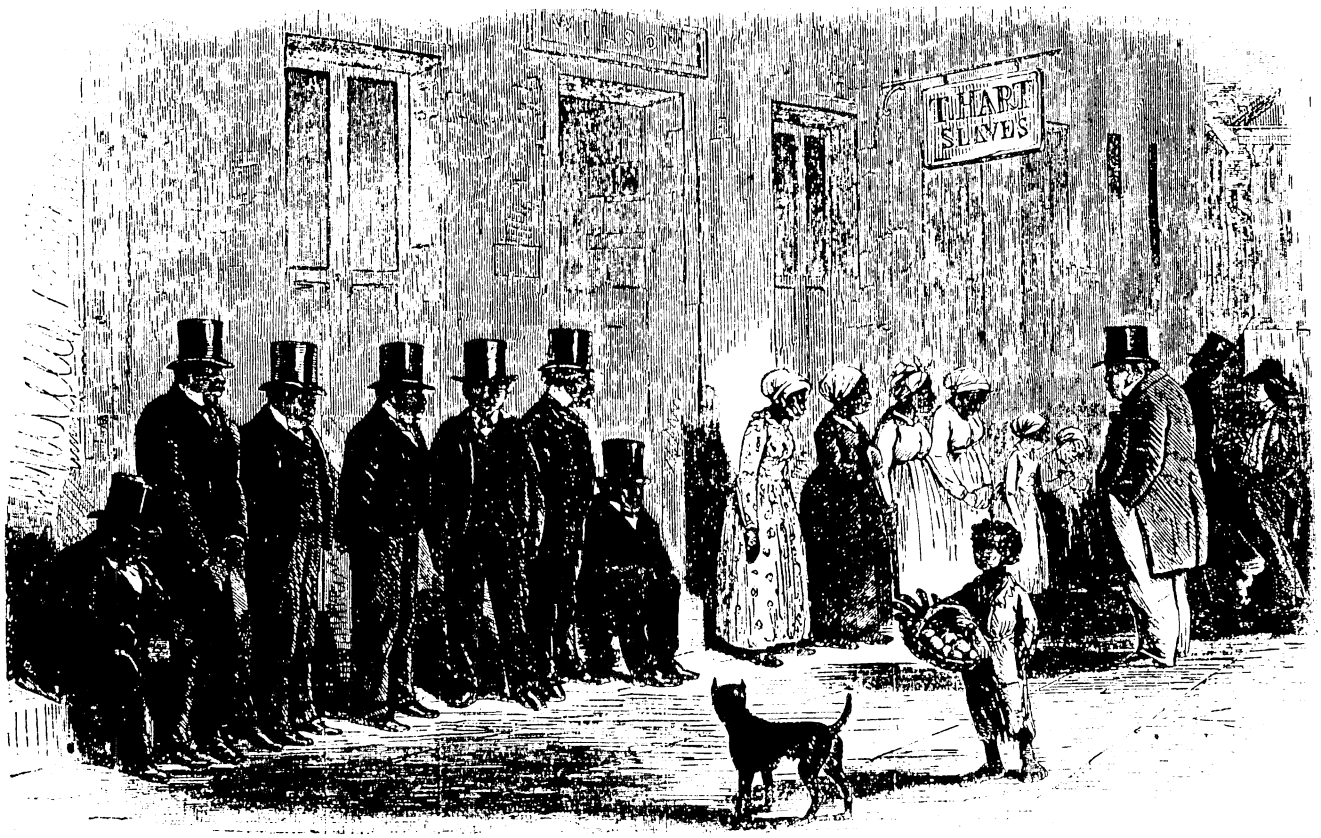
Though he failed in his bid for the Senate seat, the Lincoln-Douglas debates thrust "Honest Abe" into the national spotlight.[19] In 1860, the Republican Party passed over prominent abolitionists such as William H. Seward and Salmon P. Chase to nominate Lincoln as its presidential candidate.

In those days, presidential contenders did not make public speeches after their nomination. In the most widely reprinted of his pre-nomination speeches, delivered at Cooper Union in New York City on February 27, 1860, Lincoln expressed his agreement with the leaders of the infant American republic that slavery is "an evil not be extended, but to be tolerated and protected" where it already exists. "This is all Republicans ask — all Republicans desire — in relation to slavery," he emphasized, underscoring the words in his prepared text. After stating that any emancipation should be gradual and carried out in conjunction with a program of scheduled deportation, he went on to cite Thomas Jefferson:[20]

> In the language of Mr. Jefferson, uttered many years ago, "It is still in our power to direct the process of emancipation, and deportation, peaceably, and in such slow degrees, as that the evil will wear off insensibly; and in their places be, *pari passu* [on an equal basis], filled up by free white laborers."

On the critical question of slavery, the Republican party platform was not altogether clear. Like most documents of its kind, it included sections designed to appeal to a wide variety of voters. One plank, meant to appease radicals and abolitionists, quoted the "all men are created equal" passage of the Declaration of Independence, though without directly mentioning either the Declaration or non-whites. Another section, designed to attract conservative voters, recognized the right of each state to conduct "its own domestic institutions" as it pleased — "domestic institutions" being an euphemism for slavery. Still another, somewhat equivocally worded, plank, upheld the right and duty of Congress to legislate slavery in the territories "when necessary."[21]

On election night, November 7, 1860, Abraham Lincoln was the choice of 39 percent of the voters, with no support from the Deep South. The remainder had cast ballots either for Stephen A. Douglas of the Northern Democratic Party, John C. Breckinridge of the Southern Democratic Party, or John Bell of the Constitutional Union Party. Still, Lincoln won a decisive majority in the electoral college.[22]



Black slaves displayed for sale at a market in New Orleans. The men in silk hats, offered as domestic servants, fetched from $600 to $800 each.

By election day, six southern Governors and virtually every Senator and Representative from the seven states of the lower South had gone on record as favoring secession if Lincoln were elected.[23] In December, Congress met in a final attempt to reach a compromise on the slavery question. Senator John H. Crittenden of Kentucky proposed

an amendment to the Constitution that would guarantee the institution of slavery against federal interference in those places where it was already established.[24] A more controversial provision would extend the old Missouri compromise line to the west coast, thereby permitting slavery in the southwest territories.

On December 20, the day South Carolina voted to secede from the Union, Lincoln told a major Republican party figure, Thurlow Weed, that he had no qualms about endorsing the Crittenden amendment if it would restrict slavery to the states where it was already established, and that Congress should recommend to the Northern states that they repeal their "personal liberty" laws that hampered the return of fugitive slaves. However, Lincoln said, he would not support any proposal to extend slavery into the western territories. The Crittenden Amendment failed.[25]

Southern Fears

Less than one third of the white families in the South had any direct connection with slavery, either as owners or as persons who hired slave labor from others. Moreover, fewer than 2,300 of the one and a half million white families in the South owned 50 or more slaves, and could therefore be regarded as slave-holding magnates.[26]

The vast majority of Southerners thus had no vested interest in retaining or extending slavery. But incitement by Northern abolitionists, where fewer than 500,000 blacks lived, provoked fears in the South, where the black population was concentrated, of a violent black uprising against whites. (In South Carolina, the majority of the population was black.) Concerns that the writings and speeches of white radicals might incite blacks to anti-white rampage, rape and murder were not entirely groundless. Southerners were mindful of the black riots in New York City of 1712 and 1741, the French experience in Haiti (where insurgent blacks had driven out or massacred almost the entire white population), and the bungled effort by religious fanatic John Brown in 1859 to organize an uprising of black slaves.

What worried Southerners most about the prospect of an end to slavery was fear of what the newly-freed blacks might do. Southern dread of Lincoln was inflamed by the region's newspapers and slave-owning politicians, who portrayed the President-elect as a pawn of radical abolitionists. Much was made of Lincoln's widely-quoted words from a June 1858 speech:[27]

> A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. . . I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other.

During the critical four-month period between election and inauguration days, Southern Unionists strongly urged the President-elect to issue a definitive public statement on the slavery issue that would calm rapidly-growing Southern fears. Mindful of the way that newspapers in the slave-holding states had either ignored or twisted his earlier public statements on this issue, Lincoln chose to express himself cautiously. To the editor of the *Missouri Republican*, for example, he wrote:[28]

> I could say nothing which I have not already said, and which is in print and accessible to the public.
>
> Please pardon me for suggesting that if the papers like yours, which heretofore have persistently garbled and misrepresented what I have said, will now fully and fairly place it before their readers, there can be no further misunderstanding. I beg you to believe me sincere, when . . . I urge it as the true cure for real uneasiness in the country . . .
>
> The Republican newspapers now, and for some time past, are and have been republishing copious extracts from my many published speeches, which would at once reach the whole public if your class of papers would also publish them. I am not at liberty to shift my ground — that is out of the question. If I thought a *repetition* would do any good, I would make it. But my judgment is it would do positive harm. The secessionists, *per se* believing they had alarmed me, would clamor all the louder.

Lincoln also addressed the decisive issue in correspondence with Alexander H. Stephens, who would soon become Vice President of the Confederacy. Stephens was an old and much admired acquaintance of Lincoln's, a one-time fellow Whig and Congressman. Having seen reports of a pro-Union speech in Georgia by Stephens, Lincoln wrote to express his thanks. Stephens responded with a request that the President-elect strike a blow on behalf of Southern Unionists by clearly expressing his views. In a private letter of December 22, 1860, Lincoln replied:[29]

> Do the people of the south really entertain fears that a Republican administration would, *directly or indirectly*, interfere with their slaves, or with them, about their slaves? If they do, I wish to assure you, as once a friend, and still, I hope, not an enemy, there is no cause for such fears.

Lincoln went on to sum up the issue as he saw it: "You think slavery is *right* and ought to be extended; while we think it is *wrong* and ought to be restricted. That I suppose is the rub. It certainly is the only substantial difference between us."

To Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*, who had passed along a report of a rabid anti-Lincoln harangue in the Mississippi legislature, Lincoln wrote that "madman" there had quite misrepresented his views. He stated he was not "pledged to the ultimate extinction of slavery," and that he did not "hold the black man to be the equal of the white."[30]

When a Mississippian appeared at a reception for Lincoln in the Illinois statehouse, and boldly announced he was a secessionist, Lincoln responded by saying that he was opposed to any interference with slavery where it existed. He gave the same sort of general assurance to a number of callers and correspondents. He also wrote a few anonymous editorials for the *Illinois State Journal*, the Republican newspaper of Springfield. Additionally, he composed a few lines for a speech delivered by Senator Trumball at the Republican victory celebration in Springfield on November 20. In those lines Lincoln pledged that "each and all" of the states would be "left in as complete control of their own affairs" as ever.[31]

Inauguration

Abraham Lincoln took the oath as President on March 4, 1861. Among the first words of his Inaugural Address was a pledge (repeating words from an August 1858 speech) intended to placate Southern apprehensions: "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so." Referring to the proposed Crittenden amendment, which would make explicit constitutional protection of slavery where it already existed, he said, "I have no objection to its being made express, and irrevocable." He also promised to support legislation for the capture and return of runaway slaves.[32]

At the same time, though, Lincoln emphasized that "no state, upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union." With regard to those states that already proclaimed their secession from the Union, he said:

> I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the states. Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part; and I shall perform it, so far as practicable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means, or, in some authoritative manner, direct the contrary.

In his masterful multi-volume study of the background and course of the Civil War, American historian Allan Nevins attempted to identify the conflict's principle underlying cause:[33]

> The main root of the conflict (and there were minor roots) was the problem of slavery with its complementary problem of race-adjustment; the main source of the tragedy was the refusal of either section to face these conjoined problems squarely and pay the heavy costs of a peaceful settlement. Had it not been for the difference in race, the slavery issue would have presented no great difficulties. But as the racial gulf existed, the South inarticulately but clearly perceived that elimination of this issue would still leave it the terrible problem of the Negro. . .
>
> A heavy responsibility for the failure of America in this period rests with this Southern leadership, which lacked imagination, ability, and courage. But the North was by no means without its full share, for the North equally refused to give a constructive examination to the central question of slavery as linked with race adjustment. This was because of two principal reasons. Most abolitionists and many other sentimental-minded Northerners simply denied that the problem existed. Regarding all Negroes as white men with dark skins, whom a few years of schooling would bring abreast of the dominant race, they thought that no difficult adjustment was required. A much more numerous body of Northerners would have granted that a great and terrible task of race adjustment existed — but they were reluctant to help shoulder any part of it. . . Indiana, Illinois and even Kansas were unwilling to take a single additional person of color.

Outbreak of War

Dramatic events were swiftly creating enormous problems for the new President, who had greatly underestimated the depth of secessionist feeling in the South.[34] In January and early February, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and Texas followed South Carolina's example and left the Union. Florida troops fired on the federal stronghold of Fort Pickens. When South Carolina seceded, she claimed as rightfully hers all US government property within her borders, including federal forts and arsenals. While announcing a willingness to pay the federal government for at least a share of the cost of improvements it had made, South Carolina insisted that these properties belonged to the state, and would no longer tolerate the presence of a "foreign" power upon her soil. The other newly-seceding states took the same position.[35]

On the day Lincoln took the presidential oath, the federal government still controlled four forts inside the new Confederacy. In Florida there were Forts Taylor, Jefferson, and Pickens, the first two of which seemed secure, while in South Carolina there was Fort Sumter, which was almost entirely encircled by hostile forces.[36] While historians do not agree whether Lincoln deliberately sought to provoke an attack by his decision to re-supply the Fort, it is known that on April 9, while the bombardment of the stronghold was underway, the new President received a delegation of Virginia Unionists at the White House. Lincoln reminded them of his inaugural pledge that there would be "no invasion — not using force," beyond what was necessary to hold federal government sites and to collect customs duties. "But if, as now appeared to be true, an unprovoked assault has been made upon Fort Sumter, I shall hold myself at liberty to repossess, if I can, like places which have been seized before the Government was devolved upon me."[37]

In the aftermath of the Confederate seizure of Fort Sumter in mid-April, Lincoln called upon the

states to provide 75,000 soldiers to put down the rebellion. Virginia, Tennessee, Arkansas and North Carolina responded by leaving the Union and joining the newly-formed "Confederate States of America." This increased the size of the Confederacy by a third, and almost doubled its population and economic resources. Remaining with the Union, though, were four slave-holding border states — Delaware, Missouri, Maryland and Kentucky — and, predictably, the slave-holding District of Columbia.

The American Civil War of 1861-1865 — or the "War Between the States," as many Southerners call it — eventually claimed the lives of 360,000 in the Union forces, and an estimated 258,000 among the Confederates, in addition to hundreds of thousands of maimed and wounded. It was by far the most destructive war in American history.

Confederate dead at the battle of Antietam (Sharpsburg, Maryland), September 17, 1862. More than 23,000 men lost their lives in this single clash. Although the battle itself was a draw, the Confederate army under General Lee withdrew from the field.

Even after fighting began in earnest, Lincoln stuck to his long-held position on the slavery issue by countermanding orders by Union generals to free slaves. In July 1861, General John C. Frémont — the Republican party's unsuccessful 1856 Presidential candidate — declared martial law in Missouri, and announced that all slaves of owners in the state who opposed the Union were free. President Lincoln immediately canceled the order. Because the Southern states no longer sent representatives to Washington, abolitionists and radical Republicans wielded exceptional power in Congress, which responded to Lincoln's cancellation of Frémont's order by passing, on August 6, 1861, the (first) Confiscation Act. It provided that any property, including slaves, used with the owner's consent in aiding and abetting insurrection against the United States, was the lawful subject of prize and capture wherever found.[38]

In May 1862, Union General David Hunter issued an order declaring all slaves in Georgia, Florida and South Carolina to be free. Lincoln promptly revoked the order. An irate Congress responded by passing, in July, a second Confiscation Act that declared "forever free" all slaves whose owners were in rebellion, whether or not the slaves were used for military purposes. Lincoln refused to sign the Act until it was amended, stating he thought it an unconditional bill of attainder. Although he did not veto the amended law, Lincoln expressed his dissatisfaction with it. Furthermore, he did not faithfully enforce either of the Confiscation Acts.[39]

Deaths in Union "Contraband Camps"

Slaves seized under the Confiscation Acts, as well as runaway slaves who turned themselves in to Union forces, were held in so-called "contraband" camps. In his message to the Confederate Congress in the fall of 1863, President Jefferson Davis sharply criticized Union treatment of these blacks. After describing the starvation and suffering in

these camps, he said: "There is little hazard in predicting that in all localities where the enemy have a temporary foothold, the Negroes, who under our care increased sixfold . . . will have been reduced by mortality during the war to no more than one-half their previous number." However exaggerated Davis' words may have been, it remains a grim fact that many blacks lost their lives in these internment camps, and considerably more suffered terribly as victims of hunger, exposure and neglect. In 1864, one Union officer called the death rate in these camps "frightful," and said that "most competent judges place it as no less than twenty-five percent in the last two years."[40]

The Chiriqui Resettlement Plan

Even before he took office, Lincoln was pleased to note widespread public support for "colonization" of the country's blacks.[41] "In 1861-1862, there was widespread support among conservative Republicans and Democrats for the colonization abroad of Negroes emancipated by the war," historian James M. McPherson has noted. At the same time, free blacks in parts of the North were circulating a petition asking Congress to purchase a tract of land in Central America as a site for their resettlement.[42]

In spite of the pressing demands imposed by the war, Lincoln soon took time to implement his long-standing plan for resettling blacks outside the United States.

Ambrose W. Thompson, a Philadelphian who had grown rich in coastal shipping, provided the new president with what seemed to be a good opportunity. Thompson had obtained control of several hundred thousand acres in the Chiriqui region of what is now Panama, and had formed the "Chiriqui Improvement Company." He proposed transporting liberated blacks from the United States to the Central American region, where they would mine the coal that was supposedly there in abundance. This coal would be sold to the US Navy, with the resulting profits used to sustain the black colony, including development of plantations of cotton, sugar, coffee, and rice. The Chiriqui project would also help to extend US commercial dominance over tropical America.[43]

Negotiations to realize the plan began in May 1861, and on August 8, Thompson made a formal proposal to Secretary of the Navy Gideon Wells to deliver coal from Chiriqui at one-half the price the government was then paying. Meanwhile, Lincoln had referred the proposal to his brother-in-law, Ninian W. Edwards, who, on August 9, 1861, enthusiastically endorsed the proposed contract.[44]

Appointing a commission to investigate the Thompson proposal, Lincoln referred its findings to Francis P. Blair, Sr. Endorsing a government contract with the Chiriqui Improvement Company even more strongly than Edwards had, the senior Blair believed the main purpose of such a contract should be to utilize the area controlled by Thompson to "solve" the black question. He repeated Jefferson's view that blacks would ultimately have to be deported from the United States, reviewed Lincoln's own endorsement of resettlement, and discussed the activities of his son, Missouri Representative Francis P. Blair, Jr., on behalf of deportation. Blair concluded his lengthy report with a recommendation that Henry T. Blow, US Minister to Venezuela, be sent to Chiriqui to make an examination for the government.[45]

Lincoln ordered his Secretary of War, Simon Cameron, to release Thompson from his military duties so he could escort Blow to Central America[46]

> for the purpose of reconnaissance of, and a report upon the lands, and harbors of the Isthmus of Chiriqui; the fitness of the lands to the colonization of the Negro race; the practicability of connecting the said harbors by a railroad; and the works which will be necessary for the Chiriqui Company to erect to protect the colonists as they may arrive, as well as for the protection and defense of the harbors at the termini of said road.

Cameron was to provide Thompson with the necessary equipment and assistants. The mission was to be carried out under sealed orders with every precaution for secrecy,[47] because Lincoln did not have legal authority to undertake such an expedition.

While Blow was investigating the Chiriqui area, Lincoln called Delaware Congressman George Fisher to the White House in November 1861 to discuss compensated emancipation of the slaves in that small state — where the 1860 census had enumerated only 507 slave-holders, owning fewer than 1,800 slaves. The President asked Fisher to determine whether the Delaware legislature could be persuaded to free slaves in the state if the government compensated the owners for them. Once the plan proved feasible in Delaware, the President hoped, he might be able to persuade the other border states and, eventually, even the secessionist states, to adopt it. With assistance from Lincoln, Fisher drew up a bill to be presented to the state legislature when it met in late December. It provided that when the federal government had appropriated money to pay an average of $500 for each slave, emancipation would go into effect. As soon as it was made public, though, an acrimonious debate broke out, with party rancor and pro-slavery sentiment combining to defeat the proposed legislation.[48]

"Absolute Necessity"

In his first annual message to Congress on December 3, 1861, President Lincoln proposed that persons liberated by the fighting should be deemed free and

that, in any event, steps be taken for colonizing [them] . . . at some place, or places, in a climate congenial to them. It might be well to consider, too, whether the free colored people already in the United States could not, so far as individuals may desire, be included in such colonization.

This effort, Lincoln recognized, "may involve the acquiring of territory, and also the appropriation of money beyond that to be expended in the territorial acquisition." Some form of resettlement, he said, amounts to an "absolute necessity."[49]

Growing Clamor for Emancipation

Lincoln's faithful enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law not only filled Washington, DC, jails with runaway slaves waiting to be claimed by their owners, but also enraged many who loathed slavery. In an effort to appease his party's abolitionist faction, Lincoln urged that the United States formally recognize the black republics of Haiti and Liberia, a proposal that Congress accepted.[50]

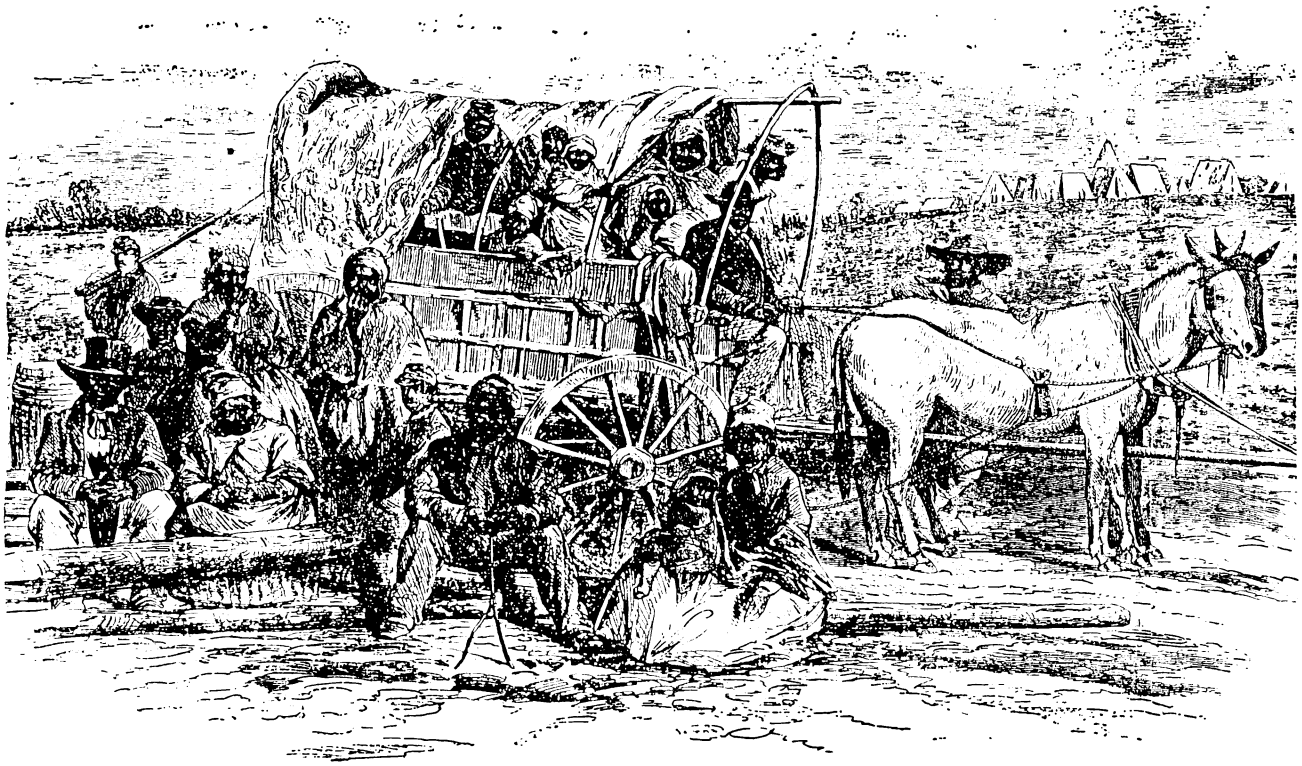
Lincoln realized that the growing clamor to abolish slavery threatened to seriously jeopardize the support he needed to prosecute the war to preserve the Union. Accordingly, on March 6, 1862, he called on Congress to endorse a carefully worded resolution:[51]

Resolved, that the United States ought to cooperate with any state which may adopt gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such state pecuniary aid, to be used by such state in its discretion, to compensate for the inconvenience, public and private, produced by such change of system.

In a letter to *New York Times* editor Henry J. Raymond urging support for the resolution, Lincoln explained that one million dollars, or less than a half-day's cost of the war, would buy all the slaves in Delaware, and that $174 million, or less than 87 days' cost of the war, would purchase all the slaves in the border states and the District of Columbia.[52]

Although the resolution lacked authority of law, and was merely a declaration of intent, it alarmed representatives from the loyal slave-holding border states. Missouri Congressman Frank P. Blair, Jr. (who, in 1868, would campaign as the Democratic party's vice presidential candidate) spoke against the resolution in a speech in the House on April 11, 1862. Emancipation of the slaves, he warned, would be a terrible mistake until arrangements were first made to resettle the blacks abroad. Blair spoke of shipping them to areas south of the Rio Grande.

In spite of such opposition, though, moderate Republicans and Democrats joined to approve the resolution, which was passed by Congress and



Black slaves seized by Union forces during the Civil War, or who made their way to Union lines, were interned in "contraband" camps. This contemporary illustration from *Harper's Weekly* depicts the arrival of slaves at a "contraband" camp. Conditions in such centers were often dreadful, and many of the internees died of disease and neglect.

signed by Lincoln on April 10, 1862. Not a single border state lawmaker had voted for the measure, however.[53]

In an effort to assuage such concerns, in July Lincoln called border state Congressmen and Senators to a White House meeting at which he explained that the recently-passed resolution involved no claim of federal authority over slavery in the states, and that it left the issue under state control. Seeking to calm fears that emancipation would suddenly result in many freed Negroes in their midst, he again spoke of resettlement of blacks as the solution. "Room in South America for colonization can be obtained cheaply, and in abundance," said the President. "And when numbers shall be large enough to be company and encouragement for one another, the freed people will not be so reluctant to go."[54]

Congress Votes Funds for Resettlement

In 1860, the 3,185 slaves in the District of Columbia were owned by just two percent of the District's residents. In April 1862, Lincoln arranged to have a bill introduced in Congress that would compensate District slave-holders an average of $300 for each slave. An additional $100,000 was appropriated[55]

> to be expended under the direction of the President of the United States, to aid in the colonization and settlement of such free persons of African descent now residing in said District, including those to be liberated by this act, as may desire to emigrate to the Republic of Hayti or Liberia, or such other country beyond the limits of the United States as the President may determine.

When he signed the bill into law on April 16, Lincoln stated: "I am gratified that the two principles of compensation, and colonization, are both recognized, and practically applied in the act."[56]

Two months later, as part of the (second) Confiscation Act of July 1862, Congress appropriated an additional half-million dollars for the President's use in resettling blacks who came under Union military control. Rejecting criticism from prominent "radicals" such as Senator Charles Sumner, most Senators and Representatives expressed support for the bold project in a joint resolution declaring[57]

> that the President is hereby authorized to make provision for the transportation, colonization and settlement in some tropical country beyond the limits of the United States, of such persons of African race, made free by the provisions of this act, as may be willing to emigrate . . .

Lincoln now had Congressional authority and $600,000 in authorized funds to proceed with his plan for resettlement.

Obstacles

Serious obstacles remained, however. Secretary of the Interior Caleb B. Smith informed the President that Liberia was out of the question as a destination for resettling blacks because of the inhospitable climate, the unwillingness of blacks to travel so far, and the great expense involved in transporting people such a vast distance. Haiti was ruled out because of the low level of civilization there, because Catholic influence was so strong there, and because of fears that the Spanish might soon take control of the Caribbean country. Those blacks who had expressed a desire to emigrate, Secretary Smith went on to explain, preferred to remain in the western hemisphere. The only really acceptable site was Chiriqui, Smith concluded, because of its relative proximity to the United States, and because of the availability of coal there.[58] Meanwhile, the United States minister in Brazil expressed the view that the country's abundance of land and shortage of labor made it a good site for resettling America's blacks.[59]

In mid-May 1862, Lincoln received a paper from Reverend James Mitchell that laid out arguments for resettling the country's black population:[60]

> Our republican system was meant for a homogeneous people. As long as blacks continue to live with the whites they constitute a threat to the national life. Family life may also collapse and the increase of mixed breed bastards may some day challenge the supremacy of the white man.

Mitchell went on to recommend the gradual deportation of America's blacks to Central America and Mexico. "That region had once known a great empire and could become one again," he stated. "This continent could then be divided between a race of mixed bloods and Anglo-Americans." Lincoln was apparently impressed with Mitchell's arguments. A short time later, he appointed him as his Commissioner of Emigration.

A Historic White House Meeting

Eager to proceed with the Chiriqui project, on August 14, 1862, Lincoln met with five free black ministers, the first time a delegation of their race was invited to the White House on a matter of public policy. The President made no effort to engage in conversation with the visitors, who were bluntly informed that they had been invited to listen. Lincoln did not mince words, but candidly told the group:[61]

> You and we are different races. We have between us a broader difference than exists between almost any other two races. Whether it is right or wrong I need not discuss, but this physical difference is a great disadvantage to us both, as I think your race suffers very greatly, many of them, by living among us, while ours suffers from your presence. In a word, we suffer

on each side. If this is admitted, it affords a reason at least why we should be separated.

. . . Even when you cease to be slaves, you are yet far removed from being placed on an equality with the white race . . . The aspiration of men is to enjoy equality with the best when free, but on this broad continent, not a single man of your race is made the equal of a single man of ours. Go where you are treated the best, and the ban is still upon you.

. . . We look to our condition, owing to the existence of the two races on this continent. I need not recount to you the effects upon white men growing out of the institution of slavery. I believe in its general evil effects on the white race.

See our present condition — the country engaged in war! — our white men cutting one another's throats, none knowing how far it will extend; and then consider what we know to be the truth. But for your race among us there could not be war, although many men engaged on either side do not care for you one way or the other. Nevertheless, I repeat, without the institution of slavery, and the colored race as a basis, the war would not have an existence.

It is better for us both, therefore, to be separated.

An excellent site for black resettlement, Lincoln went on, was available in Central America. It had good harbors and an abundance of coal that would permit the colony to be quickly put on a firm financial footing. The President concluded by asking the delegation to determine if a number of freedmen with their families would be willing to go as soon as arrangements could be made.

Organizing Black Support

The next day, Rev. Mitchell — who had attended the historic White House meeting as Lincoln's Commissioner of Immigration — placed an advertisement in northern newspapers announcing: "Correspondence is desired with colored men favorable to Central America, Liberian or Haitian emigration, especially the first named."[62] Mitchell also sent a memorandum to black ministers urging them to use their influence to encourage emigration. Providence itself, he wrote, had decreed a separate existence for the races. Blacks were half responsible for the terrible Civil War, Mitchell went on, and forecast further bloodshed unless they left the country. He concluded:[63]

> This is a nation of equal white laborers, and as you cannot be accepted on equal terms, there is no place here for you. You cannot go into the North or the West without arousing the growing feeling of hostility toward you. The south must also have a homogeneous population, and any attempt to give the freedmen equal status in the South will bring disaster to both races.

Rev. Edwin Thomas, the chairman of the black delegation, informed the President in a letter of August 16 that while he had originally opposed colonization, after becoming acquainted with the facts he now favored it. He asked Lincoln's authorization to travel among his black friends and coworkers to convince them of the virtues of emigration.[64]

While Thompson continued working on colonization of the Chiriqui site, Lincoln turned to Kansas Senator Samuel Pomeroy, whom he appointed United States Colonization Agent, to recruit black emigrants for Chiriqui resettlement, and arrange for their transportation. On August 26, 1862, Pomeroy issued a dramatic official appeal "To the Free Colored People of the United States":[65]

> The hour has now arrived in the history of your settlement upon this continent when it is within your own power to take one step that will secure, if successful, the elevation, freedom, and social position of your race upon the American continent . . .
>
> I want mechanics and labourers, earnest, honest, and sober men, for the interest of a generation, it may be of mankind, are involved in the success of this experiment, and with the approbation of the American people, and under the blessing of Almighty God, it cannot, it shall not fail.

Although many blacks soon made clear their unwillingness to leave the country, Pomeroy was pleased to report in October that he had received nearly 14,000 applications from blacks who desired to emigrate.[66]

On September 12, 1862, the federal government concluded a provisional contract with Ambrose Thompson, providing for development and colonization of his vast leased holdings in the Chiriqui region. Pomeroy was to determine the fitness of the Chiriqui site for resettlement. Along with the signatures of Thompson and Interior Secretary Caleb Smith, the contract contained a note by the President: "The within contract is approved, and the Secretary of the Interior is directed to execute the same. A. Lincoln." That same day, Lincoln also issued an order directing the Department of the Interior to carry out the "colonization" provisions of the relevant laws of April and July 1862.[67]

The President next instructed Pomeroy, acting as his agent, to accompany the proposed colonizing expedition. Lincoln authorized him to advance Thompson $50,000 when and if colonization actually began, and to allow Thompson such sums as might immediately be necessary for incidental expenses.[68] Interior Secretary Smith sent Pomeroy more specific instructions. He was to escort a group of black "Freedmen" who were willing to resettle abroad. However, before attempting to establish a colony at Chiriqui, no matter how promising the site, he should first obtain permission of the local authorities, in order to prevent diplomatic misunderstandings.[69]

Acting on these instructions, Pomeroy went to New York to obtain a ship for the venture. Robert Murray, United States Marshall at New York, was

advised of Pomeroy's status as special colonization agent, and was asked to help him secure a suitable ship.[70] On September 16, Interior Secretary Smith wired Pomeroy: "President wants information . . . has Murray the control and custody of the vessel? Is there order of sale; and if so, when? Is any deposit necessary to get the vessel?"[71] President Lincoln's concern with black resettlement at this time is all the more significant because September 1862 was a very critical period for Union military fortunes. In spite of this, he took time to keep himself abreast of the project, even to the point of having a telegram sent to hurry the procurement of a ship for the venture.

The Emancipation Proclamation

During the winter and spring 1861-1862, public support grew rapidly for the view that slavery must be abolished everywhere. Lincoln did not ignore the ever louder calls for decisive action.[72] On June 19, he signed a law abolishing slavery in all the federal territories.[73] At the same time, he was quietly preparing an even more dramatic measure.

At a cabinet meeting on July 22, Lincoln read out the draft text of a document he had prepared — a proclamation that would give the Confederate states a hundred days to stop their "rebellion" upon threat of declaring all slaves in those states to be free.

The President told his cabinet that he did not want advice on the merits of the proclamation itself — he had made up his mind about that, he said — but he would welcome suggestions about how best to implement the edict. For two days cabinet members debated the draft. Only two — Secretary of State William Seward and Treasury Secretary Salmon Chase, abolitionists who had challenged Lincoln for the 1860 Republican presidential nomination — agreed even in part with the proclamation's contents. Seward persuaded the President not to issue it until after a Union military victory (of which so far there had been few), or otherwise it would appear "the last measure of an exhausted government, a cry for help."[74]

Union General McClellan's success on September 17 in holding off the forces of General Lee at Antietam provided a federal victory of sorts, and the waited-for opportunity. Five days later, Lincoln issued his Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, which included a favorable reference to colonization:[75]

> I, Abraham Lincoln . . . do hereby proclaim and declare that hereafter, as heretofore, the war will be prosecuted for the object of practically restoring the constitutional relation between the United States, and each of the states, and the people thereof . . .
>
> That it is my purpose, upon the next meeting of Congress to again recommend the adoption of a practical measure tendering pecuniary aid to the free acceptance or rejection of all slave-states, so called, the people whereof may not be then be in rebellion against the United States, and which states, may then have voluntarily adopted, or thereafter may voluntarily adopt, immediate, or gradual abolishment of slavery within their respective limits; and that the effort to colonize persons of African descent, with their consent, upon this continent, or elsewhere, with the previously obtained consent of the Governments existing there, will be continued.

Lincoln then went on to state that on January 1,

Dead soldiers from both Confederate and Union armies lay strewn on the Gettysburg battlefield at dawn, July 5, 1863. The battle — a turning point in the Civil War — generated 43,000 casualties, including 5,000 killed from each side.

1863,

> all persons held as slaves within any state, or designated part of a state, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever, free. . .

The edict then cited the law passed by Congress on March 13, 1862, which prohibited military personnel from returning escaped slaves, and the second Confiscation Act of July 1862.

Proclamation Limitations

On New Year's Day, 1863, Lincoln issued the final Emancipation Proclamation.[76] Contrary to what its title suggests, however, the presidential edict did not immediately free a single slave. It "freed" only slaves who were under Confederate control, and explicitly exempted slaves in Union-controlled territories, including federal-occupied areas of the Confederacy, West Virginia, and the four slaveholding states that remained in the Union.

The Proclamation, Secretary Seward wryly commented, emancipated slaves where it could not reach them, and left them in bondage where it could have set them free. Moreover, because it was issued as a war measure, the Proclamation's long-term validity was uncertain. Apparently any future President could simply revoke it. "The popular picture of Lincoln using a stroke of the pen to lift the shackles from the limbs of four million slaves is ludicrously false," historian Allan Nevins has noted.[77]

"Military Necessity"

Lincoln himself specifically cited "military necessity" as his reason for issuing the Emancipation Proclamation. After more than a year of combat, and in spite of its great advantages in industrial might and numbers, federal forces had still not succeeded in breaking the South. At this critical juncture of the war, the President apparently now hoped, a formal edict abolishing slavery in the Confederate states would strike a blow at the Confederacy's ability to wage war by encouraging dissension, escapes, and possibly revolt among its large slave labor force.[78]

As the war progressed, black labor had become ever more critical in the hard-pressed Confederacy. Blacks planted, cultivated and harvested the food that they then transported to the Confederate armies. Blacks raised and butchered the beef, pigs and chicken used to feed the Confederate troops. They wove the cloth and knitted the socks to clothe the grey-uniformed soldiers. As Union armies invaded the South, tearing up railroads and demolishing bridges, free blacks and slaves repaired them. They toiled in the South's factories, shipping yards, and mines. In 1862, the famous Tredegar iron works advertised for 1,000 slaves. In 1864, there were 4,301 blacks and 2,518 whites in the iron mines of the Confederate states east of the Mississippi.[79]

Blacks also served with the Confederate military forces as mechanics, teamsters, and common laborers. They cared for the sick and scrubbed the wounded in Confederate hospitals. Nearly all of the South's military fortifications were constructed by black laborers. Most of the cooks in the Confederate army were slaves. Of the 400 workers at the Naval arsenal in Selma, Alabama, in 1865, 310 were blacks. Blacks served with crews of Confederate blockade-runners and stoked the firerooms of the South's warships.[80]

Confederate General Nathan Bedford Forrest, the legendary cavalry commander, said in a postwar interview: "When I entered the army I took 47 Negroes into the army with me, and 45 of them were surrendered with me . . . These boys stayed with me, drove my teams, and better Confederates did not live."[81]

On several occasions, Lincoln explained his reasons for issuing the Proclamation. On September 13, 1862, the day after the preliminary proclamation was issued, Lincoln met with a delegation of pro-abolitionist Christian ministers, and told them bluntly: "Understand, I raise no objections against it [slavery] on legal or constitutional grounds. . . I view the matter [emancipation] as a practical war measure, to be decided upon according to the advantages or disadvantages it may offer to the suppression of the rebellion."[82]

To Salmon Chase, his Treasury Secretary, the President justified the Proclamations's limits: "The original [preliminary] proclamation has no constitutional or legal justification, except as a military measure," he explained. "The exceptions were made because the military necessity did not apply to the exempted localities. Nor does that necessity apply to them now any more than it did then."[83]

Horace Greeley, editor of the influential *New York Tribune*, called upon the President to immediately and totally abolish slavery in an emphatic and prominently displayed editorial published August 20, 1862. Lincoln responded in a widely-quoted letter:[84]

> My paramount object in this struggle *is* to save the Union, and is *not* either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing *any* slave, I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing *all* the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union. . .

Concern about growing sentiment in the North to end slavery, along with sharp criticism from prominent abolitionists, was apparently another motivating factor for the President. (Abolitionists even feared that the Confederate states might give up

their struggle for independence before the January first deadline, and thus preserve the institution of slavery.)[85]

Lincoln assured Edward Stanly, a pro-slavery Southerner he had appointed as military governor of the occupied North Carolina coast, that "the proclamation had become a civil necessity to prevent the radicals from openly embarrassing the government in the conduct of the war."[86]

Impact of the Proclamation

While abolitionists predictably hailed the final Proclamation, sentiment among northern whites was generally unfavorable. The edict cost the President considerable support, and undoubtedly was a factor in Republican party setbacks in the Congressional elections of 1862. In the army, hardly one Union soldier in ten approved of emancipation, and some officers resigned in protest.[87]

As a work of propaganda, the Proclamation proved effective. To encourage discontent among slaves in the Confederacy, a million copies were distributed in the Union-occupied South and, as hoped, news of it spread rapidly by word of mouth among the Confederacy's slaves, arousing hopes of freedom and encouraging many to escape.[88] The Proclamation "had the desired effect of creating confusion in the South and depriving the Confederacy of much of its valuable laboring force," affirms historian John Hope Franklin.[89]

Finally, in the eyes of many people — particularly in Europe — Lincoln's edict made the Union army a liberating force: all slaves in areas henceforward coming under federal control would automatically be free.

The President with his cabinet in 1862, as he presents the draft of his Emancipation Proclamation. From left to right: War Secretary Stanton; Treasury Secretary Chase; President Lincoln; Navy Secretary Welles; Secretary of State Seward (sitting); Interior Secretary Smith; Postmaster General Blair; Attorney General Bates.

The Proclamation greatly strengthened support for the Union cause abroad, especially in Britain and France, where anti-slavery sentiment was strong. In Europe, the edict transformed the conflict into a Union crusade for freedom, and contributed greatly to dashing the Confederacy's remaining hopes of formal diplomatic recognition from Britain and France.[90] "The Emancipation Proclamation," reported Henry Adams from London, "has done more for us [the Union] here than all our former victories and all our diplomacy. It is

creating an almost convulsive reaction in our favor all over this country."[91]

End of the Resettlement Efforts

Lincoln continued to press ahead with his plan to resettle blacks in Central America, in spite of opposition from all but one member of his own Cabinet, and the conclusion of a scientific report that Chiriqui coal was "worthless."[92]

Mounting opposition to any resettlement plan also came from abolitionists, who insisted that blacks had a right to remain in the land of their birth. In addition, some Republican party leaders opposed resettlement because they were counting on black political support, which would be particularly important in controlling a defeated South, where most whites would be barred from voting. Others agreed with Republican Senator Charles Sumner, who argued that black laborers were an important part of the national economy, and any attempt to export them "would be fatal to the prosperity of the country."[93] In the (Northern) election campaign of November 1862, emancipation figured as a major issue. Violent mobs of abolitionists opposed those who spoke out in favor of resettlement.[94]

What proved decisive in bringing an end to the Chiriqui project, though, were emphatic protests by the republics that would be directly effected by large-scale resettlement. In Central America, the prospect that millions of blacks would soon be arriving provoked alarm. A sense of panic prevailed in Nicaragua and Honduras, the American consul reported, because of fears of "a dreadful deluge of negro emigration . . . from the United States." In August and September, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica protested officially to the American government about the resettlement venture. (Objection from Costa Rica was particularly worrisome because that country claimed part of the Chiriqui territory controlled by Thompson.)[95]

On September 19, envoy Luis Molina, a diplomat who represented the three Central American states, formally explained to American officials the objections of the three countries against the resettlement plan. This venture, he protested, was an attempt to use Central America as a depository for "a plague of which the United States desired to rid themselves." Molina also reminded Seward that, for the USA to remain faithful to its own Monroe Doctrine, it could no more assume that there were lands available in Latin America for colonization than could a European power. The envoy concluded his strong protest by hinting that the republics he represented were prepared to use force to repel what they interpreted as an invasion. Learning later that the resettlement project was still underway, Molina delivered a second formal protest on September 29.[96]

Secretary of State Seward was not able to ignore such protests. After all, why should Central Americans be happy to welcome people of a race that was so despised in the United States? Accordingly, on October 7, 1862, Seward prevailed on the President to call a "temporary" halt to the Chiriqui project.[97] Thus, the emphatic unwillingness of the Central American republics to accept black migrants dealt the decisive blow to the Chiriqui project. At a time when the Union cause was still precarious, Secretary of State Steward was obliged to show special concern for US relations with Latin America.[98]

Lincoln Proposes a Constitutional Amendment

In spite of such obstacles, Lincoln re-affirmed his strong support for gradual emancipation coupled with resettlement in his second annual message to Congress of December 1, 1862. On this occasion he used the word *deportation*. So serious was he about his plan that he proposed a draft Constitutional Amendment to give it the greatest legal sanction possible. Lincoln told Congress:[99]

> I cannot make it better known than it already is, that I strongly favor colonization.
>
> In this view, I recommend the adoption of the following resolution and articles amendatory to the Constitution of the United States. . . "Congress may appropriate money, and otherwise provide, for colonizing free colored persons, with their consent, at any place or places without the United States."
>
> Applications have been made to me by many free Americans of African descent to favor their emigration, with a view to such colonization as was contemplated in recent acts of Congress. . . . Several of the Spanish American republics have protested against the sending of such colonies [settlers] to their respective territories. . . Liberia and Haiti are, as yet, the only countries to which colonists of African descent from here could go with certainty of being received and adopted as citizens. . .
>
> Their old masters will gladly give them wages at least until new laborers can be procured; and the freedmen, in turn, will gladly give their labor for the wages, till new homes can be found for them, in congenial climes, and with people of their own blood and race.
>
> Fellow-citizens, we cannot escape history. We of this Congress and this administration will be remembered in spite of ourselves. . .

The President's December 1862 proposal had five basic elements:[100]

1. Because slavery was a "domestic institution," and thus the concern of the states alone, they — and not the federal government — were to voluntarily emancipate the slaves.

2. Slave-holders would be fully compensated for their loss.

3. The federal government would assist the states, with bonds as grants in aid, in meeting the financial burden of compensation.

4. Emancipation would be carried out gradually: the states would have until the year 1900 to free their slaves.

5. The freed blacks would be resettled outside the United States.

The "Ile à Vache" Project

With the collapse of the Chiriqui plan, Lincoln next gave serious consideration to a small Caribbean island off the coast of the black republic of Haiti, Ile à Vache, as a possible resettlement site for freed blacks.

In December 1862, the President signed a contract with Bernard Kock, a businessman who said that he had obtained a long-term lease on the island. Kock agreed to settle 5,000 blacks on the island, and to provide them with housing, food, medicine, churches, schools, and employment, at a cost to the government of $50 each. About 450 blacks were accordingly transported to the island at federal government expense, but the project was not a success. As a result of poor organization, corruption, and Haitian government opposition, about a hundred of the deportees soon died of disease, thirst and starvation. In February-March 1864, a government-chartered ship brought the survivors back to the United States. After that, Congress cancelled all funds it had set aside for black resettlement.[101]

End of Resettlement Efforts

In early 1863, Lincoln discussed with his Register of the Treasury a plan to "remove the whole colored race of the slave states into Texas." Apparently nothing came of the discussion.[102]

Hard-pressed by the demands of the war situation, and lacking a suitable resettlement site or even strong support within his own inner circle, Lincoln apparently gave up on specific resettlement efforts. On July 1, 1864, presidential secretary John Hay wrote in his diary: "I am happy that the President has sloughed off that idea of colonization."[103]

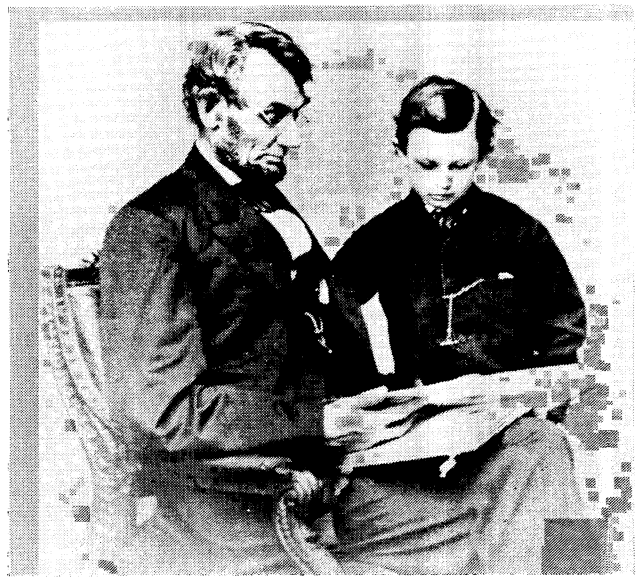
Whatever its merits, the notion that America's racial question could be solved by massive resettlement of the black population probably never had much realistic prospect of success, given the realities of American life. Writing in *The Journal of Negro History*, historian Paul Scheips summed up:[104]

> . . . Large-scale colonization of Negroes could only have succeeded, if it could have succeeded at all, if the Nation had been willing to make the gigantic propaganda, diplomatic, administrative, transportation and financial effort that would have been required. As it was, according to [historian Carl] Sandburg, "in a way, nobody cared." But even had hundreds of thousands of Negroes been colonized, the Nation's race problem would not have been solved.

Abolishing Slavery

A Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which would prohibit slavery throughout the United States, was passed by the Senate on April 8, 1864. Because the House failed immediately to approve it with the necessary two-thirds majority vote, Lincoln, in his Annual Message of December 6, asked the House to reconsider it. On January 31, 1865, and with three votes to spare, the House approved it. By this time, slavery had already been abolished in Arkansas, Louisiana, Maryland and Missouri, and a similar move seemed imminent in Tennessee and Kentucky.[105]

On February 3, 1865, Lincoln and Secretary of State Seward met with a Confederate peace delegation that included Confederate Vice President Stephens. Lincoln told the delegation that he still favored compensation to owners of emancipated slaves. It had never been his intention, the President said, to interfere with slavery in the states; he had been driven to it by necessity. He believed that the people of the North and South were equally responsible for slavery. If hostilities ceased and the states voluntarily abolished slavery, he believed, the government would indemnify the owners to the extent, possibly, of $400 million. Although the conference was not fruitful, two days later Lincoln presented to his cabinet a proposal to appropriate $400 million for reimbursement to slave owners, providing hostilities stopped by April 1. (The cabinet unanimously rejected the proposal, which Lincoln then regretfully abandoned.)[106]



Lincoln with his son Tad, February 1864

On April 9, General Lee surrendered his army to General Grant at Appomatox Courthouse, and by the end of May, all fighting had ceased. The Civil War was over.

Lincoln's Fear of "Race War"

A short time before his death on April 15, 1865, Lincoln met with General Benjamin F. Butler, who reported that the President spoke to him of "exporting" the blacks.[107]

"But what shall we do with the negroes after they are free?," Lincoln said. "I can hardly believe that the South and North can live in peace, unless we can get rid of the negroes. . . I believe that it would be better to export them all to some fertile country with a good climate, which they could have to themselves." Along with a request to Butler to look into the question of how best to use "our very large navy" to send "the blacks away," the President laid bare his fears for the future:

> If these black soldiers of ours go back to the South, I am afraid that they will be but little better off with their masters than they were before, and yet they will be free men. I fear a race war, and it will be at least a guerilla war because we have taught these men how to fight. . . There are plenty of men in the North who will furnish the negroes with arms if there is any oppression of them by their late masters.

To his dying day, it appears, Lincoln did not believe that harmony between white and black was feasible, and viewed resettlement of the blacks as the preferable alternative to race conflict. ". . . Although Lincoln believed in the destruction of slavery," concludes black historian Charles Wesley (in an article in *The Journal of Negro History*), "he desired the complete separation of the whites and blacks. Throughout his political career, Lincoln persisted in believing in the colonization of the Negro."[108]

Frederick Douglass, a gifted African American writer and activist who knew Lincoln, characterized him in a speech delivered in 1876:[109]

> In his interest, in his association, in his habits of thought, and in his prejudices, he was a white man. He was preeminently the white man's President, entirely devoted to the welfare of the white man. He was ready and willing at any time during the first years of his administration to deny, postpone, and sacrifice the rights of humanity in the colored people, to promote the welfare of the white people of this country.

Allan Nevins, one of this century's most prolific and acclaimed historians of US history, summed up Lincoln's view of the complex issue of race, and his vision of America's future:[110]

> His conception ran beyond the mere liberation of four million colored folk; it implied a far-reaching alteration of American society, industry, and government. A gradual planned emancipation, a concomitant transportation of hundreds of thousands and perhaps even millions of people overseas, a careful governmental nursing of the new colonies, and a payment of unprecedented sums to the section thus deprived of its old labor supply — this scheme carried unprecedented implications.
>
> To put this into effect would immensely increase the power of the national government and widen its abilities. If even partially practicable, it would mean a long step toward rendering the American people homogeneous in color and race, a rapid stimulation of immigration to replace the workers exported, a greater world position for the republic, and a pervasive change in popular outlook and ideas. The attempt would do more to convert the unorganized country into an organized nation than anything yet planned. Impossible, and undesirable even if possible? — probably; but Lincoln continued to hold to his vision.

For most Americans today, Lincoln's plan to "solve" America's vexing racial problem by resettling the blacks in a foreign country probably seems bizarre and utterly impractical, if not outrageous and cruel. At the same time, though, and particularly when considered in the context of the terrible Civil War that cost so many lives, it is worth pondering just why and how such a far-fetched plan was ever able to win the support of a leader of the stature and wisdom of Abraham Lincoln.

Notes

1. Benjamin Quarles, *Lincoln and the Negro* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1962), pp. 21-27.; Nathaniel Weyl and William Marina, *American Statesmen on Slavery and the Negro* (Arlington House, 1971), pp. 197-198.; Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1926 [two volumes]), Vol. I, pp. 330-334.
2. Benjamin Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952), pp. 85, 89, 260, 480.
   While Mary Todd Lincoln's eldest brother and a half-sister remained loyal to the Union during the Civil War, another brother, David, three half-brothers, and the husbands of three half-sisters fought on the side of the Confederacy. (Brother David, a half-brother named Alec, and the husband of a half-sister lost their lives in the fighting.)
3. B. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), pp. 121-122.
4. Benjamin Quarles, *Lincoln and the Negro* (New York: 1962), pp. 36-37.; Stephen B. Oates, *With Malice Toward None: The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), p. 158.
5. Roy P. Basler, editor, et al, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1953-1955 [eight volumes and index]), Vol. II, pp. 255-256. (Cited hereinafter as R. Basler, *Collected Works*.).; David A. Hollinger and Charles Capper, eds., *The American Intellectual Tradition* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1989), vol. I, pp. 378-379.
6. R. Basler, *Collected Works* (1953), vol. II, pp. 405, 408, 409.
7. John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans* (New York: A. Knopf, 1964 [2nd ed.]), pp. 234-235. [In the fifth edition of 1980, see pages 108-109, 177.].; Leslie H. Fischel, Jr., and Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro American: A Documentary History* (New York: W. Morrow, 1967), pp. 75-78.; Arvarh E. Strickland, "Negro Colonization Movements to 1840," *Lincoln Herald* (Harrogate, Tenn.: Lincoln Memorial Univ. Press), Vol. 61, No. 2 (Summer 1959), pp. 43-56.; Earnest S. Cox, *Lincoln's Negro Policy* (Torrance, Calif.: Noontide Press, 1968), pp. 19-25.

Thomas Jefferson outlined his plan for black resettlement in *Notes on the State of Virginia* (apparently first published in 1785):

> To emancipate all slaves born after passing of the act [a proposed law]. . . [They] should continue with their parents to a certain age, then be brought up, at public expense, to tillage, arts, or sciences, according to their geniuses, till the females should be eighteen, and the males twenty-one years of age, when they should be colonized to such place as the circumstances of the time should render most proper, sending them out with arms, implements of household and of the handicraft arts, seeds, pairs of the useful domestic animals, etc., to declare them a free and independent people, and to extend to them our alliance and protection till they have acquired strength. . .

(Source: *Life and Selected Works of Thomas Jefferson* New York: Modern Library, 1944], p. 255. Also quoted in: Nathaniel Weyl and William Marina, *American Statesmen on Slavery and the Negro* (Arlington House, 1971), p. 83.)

For more on Jefferson's view of the race issue, and his support for forcible deportation, see: N. Weyl and W. Marina, *American Statesmen on Slavery and the Negro* (1971), pp. 71-100.

8. Nathaniel Weyl and William Marina, *American Statesmen on Slavery and the Negro* (Arlington House, 1971), pp. 132-134.; Allan Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1947), vol. I ("Fruits of Manifest Destiny, 1847-1852"), pp. 511-517.; Robert William Fogel, *Without Consent or Contract: The Rise and Fall of American Slavery* (New York: 1989), pp. 251-254.
9. Henry N. Sherwood, "The Formation of the American Colonization Society," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. II, (July 1917), pp. 209-228.; Earnest Cox, *Lincoln's Negro Policy* (1968), pp. 19-25.; Allan Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1960), vol. I ("Fruits of Manifest Destiny, 1847-1852"), pp. 511-516.; *Congressional Globe*, 25th Congress, 1st Session, Pt. 1, pp. 293-298.
10. C. I. Foster, "The Colonization of Free Negroes in Liberia, 1816-1835," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 38 (January 1953), pp. 41-66.; John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom* (New York: 1964 [2nd ed.]), pp. 235-236,; Allan Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1960), vol. I ("Fruits of Manifest Destiny, 1847-1852"), pp. 511-516.
11. John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans* (New York: A. Knopf, 1964 [2nd ed.]), p. 235.
12. *General Laws of the State of Indiana, Passed at the 34th Session of the General Assembly* (Indianapolis: 1850), [Chap. XXVII], p. 247.
13. *Congressional Globe*, 35th Congress, 1st Sess., Pt. 1, pp. 293-298. See also: Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863" (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1960), pp. 516-517. [This is volume VI of *The Ordeal of the Union*.]
14. R. Basler, *Collected Works* (1953), vol. III, p. 29.; In 1864, Lincoln told Congressman James Rollins: "You and I were old whigs, both of us followers of that great statesman, Henry Clay, and I tell you I never had an opinion upon the subject of slavery in my life that I did not get from him." Quoted in: Nathaniel Weyl and William Marina, *American Statesmen on Slavery and the Negro* (Arlington House, 1971), p. 196.
15. R. Basler, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (1953), Vol. II, p. 132. Also quoted in: Stephen B. Oates, *With Malice Toward None: The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), pp. 105-107.; See also: Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863" (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1960), p. 7.
16. R. Basler, *Collected Works* (1953), Vol. II, pp. 298-299.
17. R. Basler, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (1953), Vol. III, p. 16.; Paul M. Angle, ed., *Created Equal?: The Complete Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1958), p. 117.
18. R. Basler, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (1953), Vol. III, pp. 145-146.; James M. McPherson, *The Struggle for Equality* (Princeton Univ. Press, 1964), pp. 23-24.; Paul M. Angle, ed., *Created Equal?: The Complete Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1958), p. 235.
19. B. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), p. 192.
20. R. P. Basler, ed., et al, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (1953), vol. III, pp. 522-550, esp. pp. 535, 541.; The complete text is also in: Robert W. Johannsen, *Democracy on Trial: 1845-1877* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), pp. 105-119.; See also: Richard N. Current, *The Lincoln Nobody Knows* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1958), p. 220.
21. Richard N. Current, *The Lincoln Nobody Knows* (New York: 1958), p. 83.
22. R. Current, *Lincoln Nobody Knows* (1958), p. 77.
23. B. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), pp. 224-225.
24. One of Crittenden's sons would later serve as a Confederate army General, while another would serve as a General in the federal forces.
25. R. Current, *Lincoln Nobody Knows* (1958), pp. 87-92.; Stephen Oates, *With Malice Toward None* (New York: 1977), pp. 199-200.
26. Leland D. Baldwin, *The Stream of American History* (New York: American Book Co., 1952 [two volumes], vol. I, 293. It is likewise often overlooked that there were more than 250,000 free blacks in the South. In New Orleans alone, more than 3,000 free blacks owned black slaves themselves, many being ranked as slave magnates. More than 8,000 black slaves were owned by Indians in Florida and the West who supported and often fought on the side of the Confederacy.
27. B. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), p. 180.; Roger Butterfield, *The American Past* (New York: 1947), pp. 153-154.
28. B. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), pp. 226-227.
29. R. P. Basler, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (1953), Vol. IV, p. 160.; R. Current, *Lincoln Nobody Knows* (1958), p. 85.
30. R. Current, *Lincoln Nobody Knows* (1958), pp. 85-86.
31. R. Current, *Lincoln Nobody Knows* (1958), p. 86.
32. B. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), p. 246.; The complete text of Lincoln's 1861 Inaugural Address is in: Robert W. Johannsen, *Democracy on Trial: 1845-1877* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), pp. 161-168, and in: R. P. Basler, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (1953), vol. IV, pp. 262-271.
33. Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Lincoln: Prologue to Civil War, 1859-1861* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1950), pp. 468-469. [This is volume IV of *The Ordeal of the Union*.]
34. Stephen B. Oates, *With Malice Toward None: The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (1977), pp. 196, 197, 204, 209, 226-227. See also: Sam G. Dickson, "Shattering the Icon of Abraham Lincoln," *The Journal of Historical Review* (Vol. 7, No. 3), Fall 1986, p. 327.
35. R. Current, *Lincoln Nobody Knows* (1958), p. 105.
36. R. Current, *Lincoln Nobody Knows* (1958), p. 110.
37. R. Current, *Lincoln Nobody Knows* (1958), p. 117.
38. R. Current, *Lincoln Nobody Knows* (1958), p. 221.; B. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), pp. 275-277.
39. R. Current, *Lincoln Nobody Knows* (1958), p. 221.

40. J. H. Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom* (1964 [2nd ed.]), pp. 268-271. [In the fifth edition of 1980, this is pp. 207-208.].; See also: Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union*, vol. III, "The Organized War, 1863-1864" (New York: 1971), pp. 418-419, 428, 432. [This is volume VII of *The Ordeal of the Union.*]

41. In January 1861, the influential *New York Tribune* proposed a plan for the gradual, compensated emancipation of the 600,000 slaves in Delaware, Maryland, Missouri, Arkansas, Texas and Louisiana. The federal government, the paper urged, should appropriate enough money to compensate slave-holders an average of $400 per slave. See: James M. McPherson, *The Struggle for Equality* (1964), p. 40.; Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863," (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1960), p. 7 (fn. 9). [This is volume VI of *The Ordeal of the Union.*]

    In 1854, Jacob Dewees of Philadelphia published a 236-page book, *The Great Future of Africa and America; an Essay showing our whole duty to the Black Man, consistent with our own safety and glory*. Dewees urged compensated emancipation, to be paid for by the proceeds of sales of public lands, and transportation of the Negroes to Africa, a process that might take as long as a century. Source: Allan Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1960), vol. I ("Fruits of Manifest Destiny, 1847-1852"), p. 517 (fn. 29).

42. James M. McPherson, *The Struggle for Equality* (1964), p. 155.; A. Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863" (New York: 1960), p. 8 (fn. 12).

43. 36th Congress, 1st Session, House of Representatives, Report No. 568: *Report of the Hon. F.H. Morse, of Maine, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, H.R. in Relation to the Contract made by the Secretary of the Navy for Coal and Other Privileges on the Isthmus of Chiriqui.*;

    At that time, the Chiriqui region was part of New Granada.; On the Chiriqui project, see also: Paul J. Scheips, "Lincoln and the Chiriqui Colonization Project," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4, (October 1952), pp. 418-420.; Nathaniel Weyl and William Marina, *American Statesmen on Slavery and the Negro* (1971), pp. 215-216.; Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863" (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1960), p. 7.; R. P. Basler, ed., et al, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (1953), Vol. V, pp. 370-371 (note).

44. "Important Considerations for Congress," enclosure with Ninian W. Edwards to Abraham Lincoln, August 9, 1861. *The Robert Todd Lincoln Collection of the Papers of Abraham Lincoln* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1947 [194 volumes]), vol. 52, f. 11109. (Hereafter cited as *Lincoln Collection.*).; Also cited in: Paul J. Scheips, "Lincoln and the Chiriqui Colonization Project," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (October 1952), pp. 420-421.

45. F. P. Blair, Sr. to A. Lincoln, November 16, 1861. *Lincoln Collection*, Vol. 61, ff. 13002-13014.; Also cited in: P. J. Scheips, "Lincoln. . . ," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4, pp. 420-421.

46. A. Lincoln to Simon Cameron, December [?], 1861, *Lincoln Collection*, vol. 64, f. 13636.; Also cited in: P. J. Scheips, "Lincoln. . . ," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (1952), p. 421.

47. A. Lincoln to Gideon Welles, December [?], 1861, *Lincoln Collection* (cited above), Vol. 64, ff. 13637-13638.

48. Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863," (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1960), pp. 6-8. [This is volume VI of *The Ordeal of the Union.*]

49. R. P. Basler, et al, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (1953), Vol. V, pp. 35-53, esp. p. 48.

50. Stephen B. Oates, *With Malice Toward None: The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), p. 299.; Nathaniel Weyl and William Marina, *American Statesmen on Slavery and the Negro* (1971), p. 216.

51. Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863," (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1960), p. 31.

52. A. Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863" (New York: 1960), p. 32.

53. A. Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, (1960), pp. 32-33.

54. R. Basler, ed., et al, *Collected Works* (1953), vol. V, p. 318.; Robert W. Johannsen, *Democracy on Trial: 1845-1877* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), p. 265.

55. N. Weyl and W. Marina, *American Statesmen* (1971), pp. 216-217.; 37th Congress, 2nd Session, *Public Laws of the United States* (Boston, 1861-1862), XII, p. 378.

56. R. Basler, *Collected Works* (1953), vol. V, p. 192.

57. Charles H. Wesley, "Lincoln's Plan for Colonizing the Emancipated Negroes," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (January 1919), p. 11.; Paul J. Scheips, "Lincoln. . . ," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4, pp. 422-424.; N. Weyl and W. Marina, *American Statesmen on Slavery and the Negro* (1971), pp. 216-217.; R. P. Basler, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (1953), Vol. V, p. 32.; B. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), p. 360.

58. Caleb Smith to A. Lincoln, April 23, 1862, 47th Congress, 1st Session, House of Representatives, Exec. Doc. 46, *Resolutions of the House of Representatives Relative to Certain Lands and Harbors Known as the Chiriqui Grant*, p. 132. (Hereafter referred to as *Report on the Chiriqui Grant.*) . ; This document is cited in: P. J. Scheips, "Lincoln. . . ," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (1952), p. 425.; See also: A. Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863," (New York: 1960), p. 148 (fn. 16).

59. A. Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863" (New York: 1960), p. 148 (fn. 16).

60. James Mitchell to A. Lincoln, May 18, 1862. *Lincoln Collection* (cited above), Vol. 76, f. 16044.; P. J. Scheips, "Lincoln. . . ," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (1952), pp. 426-427.

61. R. Basler, et al, *Collected Works* (1953), vol. V, pp. 370-375.; A record of this meeting is also given in: Nathaniel Weyl and William Marina, *American Statesmen on Slavery and the Negro* (1971), pp. 217-221.; See also: Paul J. Scheips, "Lincoln. . . ," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4, pp. 428-430.

62. "The Colonization Scheme," Detroit *Free Press*, August 15 (or 27), 1862. See also: Paul J. Scheips, "Lincoln. . . ," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4, pp. 437-438.

63. James Mitchell, Commissioner of Emigration, to United States Ministers of the Colored Race, 1862. *Lincoln Collection* (cited above in footnote 44), Vol, 98, ff. 20758-20759.

64. Edwin M. Thomas to A. Lincoln, August 16, 1862. *Lincoln Collection* (cited above), Vol. 84, ff. 17718-17719.

65. Bedford Pim, *The Gate of the Pacific* (London: 1863), pp. 144-146.; Cited in: Paul J. Scheips, "Lincoln. . . ," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (1952), pp. 436-437.; James M. McPherson, *The Negro's Civil War* (New York: 1965), p. 95.; "Colonization Scheme," Detroit *Free Press*, August 15 (or 27), 1862.

66. Paul J. Scheips, "Lincoln. . . ," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (1952), pp. 437-438.

67. Report on the Chiriqui Grant (cited above in footnote 58), pp. 134-136.; Paul J. Scheips, "Lincoln. . . ," *The Journal of*

Negro History, Vol. 37, No. 4 (1952), pp. 432-433.

68. 39th Congress, 1st Sess., Senate Executive Document 55. *Report on the Transportation, Settlement, and Colonization of Persons of the African Race*, pp. 16-17.
69. Caleb Smith to Robert Murphy, Sept. 16, 1862. 39th Congress, 1st Sess., Senate Executive Document 55. *Report on the Transportation, Settlement, and Colonization of Persons of the African Race*, p. 17.
70. Caleb Smith to Samuel Pomeroy, Sept. 20, 1862. 39th Congress, 1st Sess., Senate Exec. Doc. 55. *Report on the Transportation, Settlement, and Colonization of Persons of the African Race*, p. 17.
71. Caleb Smith to S. Pomeroy, Sept. 20, 1862. Same source, p. 17.
72. James M. McPherson, *The Struggle for Equality* (1964), pp. 80, 81, 82, 89, 93, 94.
73. John H. Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedo*m (New York: 1964 [2nd ed.]), p. 277.; Stephen Oates, *With Malice Toward None* (1977), p. 299.
74. Benjamin Quarles, *Lincoln and the Negro* (New York: 1962), pp. 126-127.; B. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), p. 334.
75. The complete text of Lincoln's preliminary Emancipation Proclamation of September 22, 1862, is printed in: Robert W. Johannsen, *Democracy on Trial: 1845-1877* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), pp. 266-268, and in: R. P. Basler, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (1953), vol. V, pp. 433-436.
76. The complete text of the final Emancipation Proclamation is printed in: Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years and The War Years*, (New York: 1954 [One-volume edition]), pp. 345-346.
77. Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863" (New York: 1960), p. 235.
78. Benjamin Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), p. 333.

    As historians acknowledge, Lincoln did not issue the Emancipation Proclamation out of altruistic concern for blacks in bondage. If his objective truly had been solely to free slaves in the Confederacy, he could simply have faithfully enforced the second Confiscation Act, by which Confederate slaves coming under Union control were set free.

    It is also possible that, having announced on September 22, 1862, that he would make a final proclamation of emancipation on January 1, 1863, Lincoln had an excuse for disregarding the Confiscation laws, and could stave off support for pending legislation, which he opposed, that would permit blacks to fight for the Union.

    It also appears that edict provided the President with a means to frustrate Thaddeus Stevens and other abolitionists in Congress, who had introduced legislation to make freedmen and soldiers out of the slaves from the four slaveholding states that had remained with the Union. According to this interpretation, holds, Lincoln hoped to make use of the hundred-day period before the final proclamation was to be issued in order to make irreversible progress on implementing the Chiriqui colonization project, and to gain additional support for the gradual black resettlement.
79. John H. Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedo*m (1964 [2nd ed.]), pp. 283-286. [This is apparently p. 228 of the 1974 edition.]
80. Same source as footnote 79.
81. Forrest interview in the *Cincinnati Commercial*, August 28, 1868. Reprinted in: Stanley Horn, *Invisible Empire: The Story of the Ku Klux Klan, 1866-1871* (Montclair, N.J.: Patterson-Smith, 2nd ed., 1969), p. 414.
82. R. Basler, ed., et al, *Collected Works* (1953), vol. V, p. 421.
83. B. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), p. 361.
84. A. Nevins, *The War for the Union*, vol. II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863" (New York: 1960), pp. 231-233.; Facsimile of text of Lincoln's letter of Aug. 22, 1862 to Greeley in: Stefan Lorant, *Lincoln: A Picture Story of His Life* (New York: Bonanza, 1969), pp. 158-159.; See also: R. Current, *Lincoln Nobody Knows* (1958), p. 224.; B. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), pp. 342-343.
85. B. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), pp. 333, 356-359.
86. R. Current, *Lincoln Nobody Knows* (1958), p. 227.; N. Weyl and W. Marina, *American Statesmen on Slavery and the Negro* (1971), p. 226.
87. John H. Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedo*m (New York: 1964 [2nd ed.]), p. 278.; Stephen Oates, *With Malice Toward None* (1977), pp. 322, 339, 343.
88. Roger Butterfield, *The American Past* (New York: 1947), p. 172.; Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863" (New York: 1960), pp. 235-237.
89. John H. Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedo*m (New York: 1964 [2nd ed.]), p. 280.
90. Stephen Oates, *With Malice Toward None* (1977), p. 340.; A. Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863" (New York: 1960), pp. 236-237.
91. Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years and The War Years*, (New York: 1954 [One-volume edition]), p. 347.; Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (New York: 1964 [7th edition]), p. 342.; See also: A. Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863" (New York: 1960), pp. 270-273.
92. Joseph Henry to A. Lincoln, Sept. 5, 1862. *Lincoln Collection* (cited above), Vol. 86, ff. 18226-18227.; Paul J. Scheips, "Lincoln. . . ," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (1952), pp. 430-431.; Nathaniel Weyl and W. Marina, *American Statesmen* (1971), p. 224.; Gerstle Mack, *The Land Divided* (New York: 1944), p. 276.
93. Perley Poore, *Reminiscences of Sixty Years in the National Metropolis* (Philadelphia: 1866), II, pp. 107-108.
94. James L. Sellers, "James R. Doolittle," *The Wisconsin Magazine of History*, XVII (March 1934), pp. 302-304.
95. James R. Partridge to William Seward, August 26, 1862, A.B. Dickinson to W. Seward, Sept. 12, 1862, and Pedro Zeledon to A.B. Dickinson, Sept. 12, 1862. *Papers Relating to Foreign Affairs*, pp. 891-892, 897-898.; Paul J. Scheips, "Lincoln. . . ," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (1952), pp. 443-444 (incl. note 50).; N. Andrew Cleven, "Some Plans for Colonizing Liberated Negro Slaves in Hispanic America," *The Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly*, VI (September 1925), p. 157.
96. Luis Molina to W. Seward, Sept. 19, 1862. *Papers Relating to Foreign Affairs*, pp. 899-903.
97. John Usher to Samuel Pomeroy, Oct. 7, 1862. 39th Congress, 1st Sess., Senate Exec. Doc. 55. *Report on the Transportation, Settlement, and Colonization of Persons of the African Race*, p. 21.; Paul J. Scheips, "Lincoln. . . ," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (1952), pp. 440-441.
98. Paul J. Scheips, "Lincoln. . . ," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (1952), p. 441.; Nathaniel Weyl and W. Marina, *American Statesmen* (1971), p. 224.
99. R. Basler, ed., et al, *Collected Works* (1953), vol. V, pp. 518-537, esp. pp. 520, 521, 530, 531, 534, 535. Also quoted, in part, in: N. Weyl and W. Marina, *American Statesmen* (1971), pp. 225, 227.
100. R. Current, *Lincoln Nobody Knows* (1958), pp. 221-222, 228.
101. James M. McPherson, *The Negro's Civil War* (New York: Pantheon, 1965), pp. 96-97.; Charles H. Wesley, "Lincoln's Plan. . . ," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. IV, No. 1

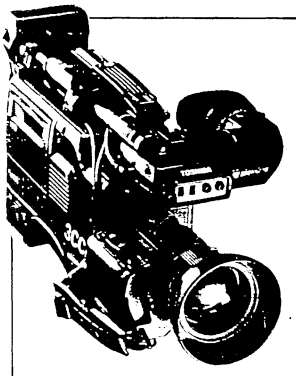
(January 1919), pp. 17-19.; B. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), pp. 362-363.; N. Weyl and W. Marina, *American Statesmen on Slavery and the Negro* (1971), pp. 227-228.; Stephen Oates, *With Malice Toward None* (1977), p. 342.

102. N. Weyl and W. Marina, *American Statesmen on Slavery and the Negro* (1971), pp. 228-229. Source cited: L. E. Chittenden, *Recollections of Abraham Lincoln.*; Lincoln apparently also gave consideration to setting aside Florida as a black asylum or reservation. See: Paul J. Scheips, "Lincoln. . .," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (October 1952), p. 419.
103. Tyler Dennett, ed., *Lincoln and the Civil War in the Diaries and Letters of John Hay* (New York: 1930), p. 203.; Also, quoted in: Paul J. Scheips, "Lincoln. . .," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4, p. 439.
104. Paul J. Scheips, "Lincoln. . .," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (October 1952), p. 453.
105. B. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), pp. 493-494.
106. B. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), pp. 501-503.
107. Benjamin Butler, *Autobiography and Personal Reminiscences of Major-General Benjamin F. Butler* (Boston: 1892), pp. 903-908.; Quoted in: Charles H. Wesley, "Lincoln's Plan for Colonizing the Emancipated Negroes," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (January 1919), p. 20.; Earnest S. Cox, *Lincoln's Negro Policy* (Torrance, Calif.: 1968), pp. 62-64.; Paul J. Scheips, "Lincoln and the Chiriqui Colonization Project," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (October 1952), pp. 448-449.

    In the view of historian H. Belz, the essence of what Butler reports that Lincoln said to him here is "in accord with views. . . [he] expressed elsewhere concerning reconstruction." See: Herman Belz, *Reconstructing the Union: Theory and Policy During the Civil War* (Ithaca: 1969), pp. 282-283. Cited in: N. Weyl and W. Marina, *American Statesmen on Slavery and the Negro* (1971), p. 233 (n. 44).

    The authenticity of Butler's report has been called into question, notably in: Mark Neely, "Abraham Lincoln and Black Colonization: Benjamin Butler's Spurious Testimony," *Civil War History*, 25 (1979), pp. 77-83. See also: G. S. Borritt, "The Voyage to the Colony of Linconia," *Historian*, No. 37 , 1975, pp. 629- 630.; Eugene H. Berwanger, "Lincoln's Constitutional Dilemma: Emancipation and Black Suffrage," *Papers of the Abraham Lincoln Association* (Springfield, Ill.), Vol. V, 1983, pp. 25-38.; Arthur Zilversmit, "Lincoln and the Problem of Race," *Papers of the Abraham Lincoln Association*, Vol. II, 1980, pp. 22-45.
108. Charles H. Wesley, "Lincoln's Plan for Colonizing the Emancipated Negroes," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (January 1919), p. 8.
109. Frederick Douglass, "Oration Delivered on the Occasion of the Unveiling of the Freedman's Monument in Memory of Abraham Lincoln," in Washington, DC, April 14, 1876. Quoted in: Nathaniel Weyl and William Marina, *American Statesmen on Slavery and the Negro* (Arlington House, 1971), p. 169; and in: Benjamin Quarles, ed., *Frederick Douglass* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: 1968), p. 74.
110. Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863" (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1960), p. 10. [Volume VI of *The Ordeal of the Union.*]

"Integrity without knowledge is weak and useless, and knowledge without integrity is dangerous and dreadful."
— Dr. Samuel Johnson



ON CAMERA
Against the Holocaust Lobby

Dr. ROBERT FAURISSON ***DAVID IRVING***

MARK WEBER ***Dr. ROBERT COUNTESS***

On April 22, 1993, presidents and high-ranking officials of the United States, Israel and other countries gathered in Washington, DC to dedicate the new US Holocaust Memorial Museum. An army of journalists, cameramen and commentators was there to broadcast the media event to the world.

FAURISSON

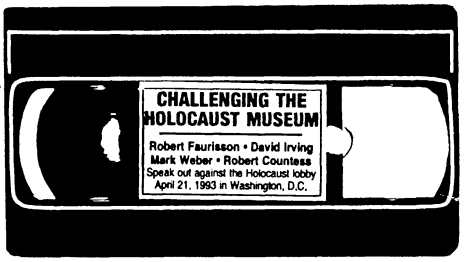
IRVING

WEBER

IHR was there, too — there to declare its unequivocal opposition to this monstrous $160 million monument to flawed priorities and illicit power. On April 21 IHR held a conference at a hotel in a suburb of Washington, DC where 200 friends came to hear **Robert Faurisson** from France, **David Irving** from England, *JHR* editor **Mark Weber** and **Robert Countess** speak out against the Holocaust lobby. The event was captured on video, including, Prof. Faurisson's challenge to Museum officials that read, in part:

> *Tomorrow the US Holocaust Memorial Museum will be dedicated in Washington. I challenge the Museum authorities to provide us a physical representation of the magical gas chamber. I have searched for 30 years for such a representation without finding it . . . I warn the officials of the US Holocaust Museum . . . that tomorrow, April 22, 1993, they need not offer, as proof of the existence of Nazi gas chambers, a disinfection gas chamber, a shower room, a morgue, or an air-raid shelter . . . I want a portrayal of an entire Nazi gas chamber, one that gives a precise idea of its technique and operation.*

Watch **Prof. Faurisson** deliver the complete text of his devastating challenge. Watch the inimitable **David Irving** thrill his audience with details of the Holocaust lobby's stepped-up efforts to crush truth in history. Watch **Mark Weber** deliver his rousing "call to arms" in opposition to the museum, and hear **Dr. Countess'** elegant tribute to the IHR — all in an unforgettable 90-minute video that tells you what you need to know about this costly and dangerous mistake they call a "museum."


CHALLENGING THE HOLOCAUST MUSEUM
Robert Faurisson • David Irving
Mark Weber • Robert Countess
Speak out against the Holocaust lobby
April 21, 1993 in Washington, D.C.

CHALLENGING THE HOLOCAUST MUSEUM
VHS Videotape • Color • 90 minutes
Item #V100 • $19.95 + $2 shipping, from
INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW

Pope Pius XII During the Second World War

MARY BALL MARTINEZ

Since the 1960s, it has been increasingly fashionable to condemn Pius XII (Eugenio Pacelli) — who was Pope from 1939 until 1958 — for his alleged indifference to the fate of Europe's Jews during the Second World War. Rabbi Marvin Hier of the Simon Wiesenthal Center of Los Angeles, for example, recently declared: ". . . Pope Pius XII sat on the throne of St. Peter in stony silence, as the trains carrying millions of unsuspecting victims criss-crossed Europe en route to the gas chambers. . . . Not once did the Pope lift his voice in unequivocal terms to protest the deportations and murder of the Jews . . ."

To be sure, the Vatican is not the only target of such criticism. The wartime leaders of the United States, Britain and other countries have come under similar, and growing, attack in recent years for their alleged indifference to the wartime persecution of Europe's Jews. In fact, as Dr. Arthur Butz has pointed out, Pope Pius XII — along with the Allied governments and even the major international Jewish organizations — did not act as if they seriously believed wartime stories of mass extermination of Jews. (See: A. Butz, The Hoax of the Twentieth Century, *Appendix E and Supplement B.)*

Criticism like Rabbi Hier's shows cruel ingratitude for the Vatican's extensive help to persecuted Jews during the war years. In a 1967 book, Three Popes and the Jews, *Jewish historican and Israeli government official Pinchas Lapide strongly defends the Vatican's record. "The Catholic Church, under the pontificate of Pius XII, was instrumental in saving at least 700,000, but probably as many as 860,000 Jews," writes Lapide.*

In the following essay, a seasoned Vatican observer takes a strikingly different view of the wartime role of the Holy See. Contrary to widely-held perception, she argues that Pius XII strongly opposed National Socialist Germany, did everything in his power to aid Europe's persecuted Jews, and actively aided the Allied cause during the war.

Mary Ball Martinez was an accredited member of the Vatican press corps from 1973 to 1988, reporting for *National Review*, *The American Spectator* and *The Wanderer*. This essay has been adapted by her from a section of her 200-page book, *The Undermining of the Catholic Church*. (Available for $15, postpaid, from Omni/Christian Book Club, P.O. Box 900566, Palmdale, CA 93590.

The persistent myth of the Vatican's indifference to the fate of Europe's Jews during the Second World War had its origin in the 1960s, and particularly in "The Deputy," a play by German Protestant Rolf Hochhuth, and in a book by Jewish historian Saul Friedländer.

Responding to these accusations, Pope Paul VI opened the wartime records in the Vatican archives to study by four Jesuit historians, permitting them to select documents for publication. The American among them, Robert A. Graham, sorted out a great number that were eventually published in a series of volumes. These weighty documents clearly show that well before the outbreak of hostilities in 1939, Secretary of State Pacelli, the future Pope, was deeply involved in promoting the welfare of Europe's Jews.

Adolf Hitler had been Chancellor of Germany less than half a year when Cardinal Pacelli was urging Pope Pius XI to give hospitality inside Vatican City to prominent Jews who requested it. In 1937, as he arrived in New York harbor aboard the Italian liner *Conte di Savoia*, he asked the ship's captain to run up an improvised banner with the six-pointed star of the future State of Israel in honor, he said, of six hundred German Jews on board. A year later, citizens of Munich were astonished to see the Torah and other ritual objects being removed "for safe-keeping" from the city's chief synagogue in the limousine of the Archbishop, and to learn that the transfer had been ordered by Cardinal Pacelli in Rome. One of his last acts before becoming Pope in 1939 was to notify American and Canadian bishops of his displeasure at the reluctance of Catholic universities in their countries to accept more European Jewish scholars and scientists on their staffs, and he looked to the bishops to remedy this situation.

Support for Zionism

As Pius XII, Eugenio Pacelli understood early on the importance of Palestine to the Jewish soul. In 1939, as soon as news reached Rome of the German advance into Poland, he telegraphed Nuncio Paccini in Warsaw to "try to organize Polish Jews for a passage to Palestine." Meanwhile Pius XII ordered Nuncio Angelo Roncalli (the future Pope John XXIII) in Istanbul to prepare thousands of baptismal certificates for arriving Jews in the hopethese papers would cause the British police in

Palestine to let them enter the country.

Roncalli protested. "Surely," he wrote to the Pope, "an attempt to revive the ancient Kingdoms of Judea and Israel is utopian. Will it not expose the Vatican to accusations of support for Zionism?"

The Secretary of State, Cardinal Maglione, was hardly less troubled. "How," he asked the Pope, "can you justify historically a criterion of bringing back a people to Palestine, a territory they left 19 centuries ago? Surely there are more suitable places for the Jews to settle."

Not Neutral

Midway into his project, Father Graham told *The Washington Post*: "I was stupefied at what I was reading. How could one explain actions so contrary to the principle of neutrality?" During the first months of the war, Graham found, the new Pope himself was personally authoring the intensely anti-German texts beamed around the world by Vatican Radio. Although Pius XII's personal involvement was not known at the time, these statements were so strongly worded and partisan that they prompted vigorous protests from the German Ambassador to the Holy See, and even from Polish bishops. As a result, the broadcasts were suspended, much to the chagrin of the British government, which lost what Father Graham calls "a formidable source of propaganda."

Cardinal Pacelli shortly after he became papal Secretary of State in 1930. Nine years later he was named Pope Pius XII.

Pius XII also set up a Catholic refugee committee in Rome, which he placed under charge of his secretary, Father Leiber, and his housekeeper, young Mother Pasqualina. In his book, *Pie XII avant l'Histoire*, Monsignor Georges Roche reports that this committee enabled thousands of European Jews to enter the United States as "Catholics," providing them with efficient documentation service, including baptismal certificates, financial aid and other trans-national arrangements. The French historian estimates that by 1942 more than one million Jews were being housed, on Vatican orders, in convents and monasteries throughout Europe. British historian Derek Holmes reports that Jews as well as Italian partisans of underground guerrilla movements were dressed as monks and nuns, and taught to sing Gregorian chants.

The Pope himself set an example by taking care of some 15,000 Jews and Italian dissidents at Castel Gandolfo, the Pope's summer residence, as well as several thousand at Vatican City. Among those so helped was the Italian Socialist leader, Pietro Nenni, who needed a hiding place after his return from war-torn Spain, where he had served as a commissar with the International Brigades.

Meanwhile in France, under the very nose of the so-called Vichy government, Cardinal Tisserant worked with the Joint Distribution Committee in facilitating Jewish emigration. His secretary, Msgr. Roche, has described an underground printing press at Nice, protected by the mayor of the city and the archbishop, where 1,915 false identity cards, 136 false work permits, 1,230 false birth certificates, 480 false demobilization cards and 950 false baptismal certificates were produced before the operation was discovered.

In Hungary, Father Giovanni Battista Montini, the future Paul VI, was working with authorities on a scheme that would guarantee safety to the country's 800,000 Jews on condition they submit to baptism.

Plot Against Hitler

To their astonishment, the four Jesuit historians came upon records documenting the personal involvement of Pius XII in a plot to overthrow Hitler. In January 1940 he was approached by the agent of a certain clique of German generals, who asked him to tell the British government that they would undertake to "remove" Hitler if they were given assurances that the British would come to terms with a moderate German regime. Pius XII promptly passed along this message to Sir D'Arcy Osborne, Britain's envoy to the Holy See. The offer was turned down.

The Soviet Factor

Papal preference for the Allied side became more difficult to defend after June 1941, when this

became the Soviet side. By that time Hitler's "Fortress Europe" was overwhelmingly Catholic. Germany itself then included the predominantly Catholic regions of Austria, the Saarland, and the Sudetenland, as well as Alsace-Lorraine and Luxembourg. Moreover, the German-allied countries of Italy, Slovenia, Slovakia and Croatia were entirely Catholic, and Hungary was mainly so. France — including both the German-occupied northern zone and the Vichy-run south — cooperated with Germany. Similarly, Catholic Spain and Portugal were sympathetic.

A Catholic priest, Josef Tiso, had been elected president of the German-backed Republic of Slovakia. In France, which adopted the Axis ban on Freemasonry, crucifixes went up on all public buildings, and on French coins the old official motto of the French Revolution, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," was replaced with "Family, Fatherland, Work."

Thus, Pope Pius XII found himself in the awkward position of siding with atheistic Soviet Russia, overwhelmingly Protestant Britain (with its vast, mainly non-Christian Empire), and the predominantly Protestant United States of America, against the largely Catholic "Fortress Europe." His predicament reached a climax following the December 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor, and America's full entry into the world war. Most Catholic Americans — including those of Italian, Irish, German, Hungarian, Slovenian, Croatian and Slovakian descent — had regarded themselves as "isolationists." Furthermore, Communist atrocities against priests, nuns and churches during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) were fresh in their minds.

Skilled diplomat that he was, Pius XII met the challenge. He appointed the dynamic young Auxiliary Bishop of Cleveland, Michael Ready, to head a campaign to "reinterpret" *Divini Redemptoris*, the anti-Marxist encyclical of the previous Pope, Pius XI, and to put out the word that Soviet dictator Stalin was opening the way to religious freedom in the USSR.

The Pope's Wartime Silence

That it cost something for the head of the Catholic Church to face so many millions of European Catholics as an enthusiastic supporter of their enemies is evident from a poignant letter Pacelli wrote to Myron C. Taylor, who had been his host in New York and was now Roosevelt's envoy to the Holy See. In part, "at the request of President Roosevelt, the Vatican has ceased all mention of the Communist regime. But this silence that weighs heavily on our conscience, is misunderstood by the Soviet leaders who continue the persecution against churches and faithful. God grant that the free world will not one day regret my silence." There was indeed a "silence of Pius XII," but it was not the silence invented by Hochhuth and Friedländer.

Vatican-Communist Cooperation

Still the strivings of the Pope continued. When it became certain that German troops would occupy Rome, he ordered the papal seal to be carved on the entrance gate of Rome's Great Synagogue, and in July 1944 he authorized a meeting between his right-hand man, Msgr. Montini, and the undisputed leader of Italian Communism, Palmiro Togliatti, who had recently returned from 18 years in the Soviet Union.

According to document JR1022, released a few years ago by the successors of the US wartime Office of Strategic Services (OSS)

> . . . the discussion between Msgr. Montini and Togliatti was the first direct contact between a high prelate of the Vatican and a leader of Communism. After having examined the situation, they acknowledged the potential possibility of a contingent alliance between Catholics and Communists in Italy which would give the three parties — Christian Democrats, Socialists and Communists — an absolute majority, thereby enabling them to dominate any political situation. A tentative plan was drafted to forge the basis on which the agreement between the three parties could be made.

That "tentative plan," forged 49 years ago, became the foundation for the unholy alliance that de-Christianized large sections of the Italian population, brought several decades of bloody turmoil into the schools and factories, and opened the nation to the Mafia, climaxing today in the national demand for sweeping social-political reform that is dubbed "*Mani Puliti*," Clean Hands.

"Crusade" Rejected

In his first major address after the war, the Pope defended the one-sided attitude he had maintained throughout the conflict. He told the College of Cardinals, "We as head of the Church refused to call Christians to a crusade." He was referring to the wartime visit to Rome of the French Cardinal, Boudrillat, to ask a papal blessing for the volunteer regiments of Frenchmen, Spaniards, Italians, Croatians, Hungarians, Slovenians — Catholics nearly to a man — who were setting out with the armed forces of Germany and her allies to conquer the Soviet Union or, as the Cardinal put it, "to free the Russian people." Along with the "crusaders" was to go a sizeable contingent of Russian- and Ukrainian-speaking priests, young graduates of the Russicum, Rome's Russian seminary, who hoped to open long-closed churches on the way.

The Cardinal's expectations were speedily dashed when the Pope demanded an immediate withdrawal of the request for a blessing. In addition, Boudrillat was to have no contact whatsoever with the press.

As the war dragged on, more pressure was put on Pius XII to resist advancing Marxism. Nuncio Roncalli wrote from Turkey to express "panic" at

Pope Pius XII speaks to a crowd in Rome following an American air attack on the city, August 1943.

the Soviet offensive. He had tried in vain, he reported, to find out from his recent visitor, Cardinal Spellman of New York, how much Roosevelt had promised Stalin. From Bern, the Nuncio Bernardini reported that the Swiss press, "up to now preoccupied with German hegemony, has suddenly begun to take account of a far greater, a mortal danger, that of Germany falling into Soviet hands." Pleading on behalf of the Catholic majorities in Poland and Hungary, he begged the Pope to back any reasonable peace initiative.

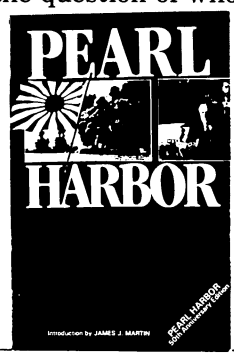
In March 1944, Secretary of State Maglione — without, it must be assumed, the Pope's knowledge — was urging Britain's envoy to the Holy See to try to convince Churchill that the Empire needed a non-Communist Germany in a stable Europe. Finally, in April, the Prime Minister of Hungary, Dr. Kallay, came to Rome with a desperate plea to Pius XII to put himself "at the head of a peace initiative capable of halting the Soviet advance that was about to engulf the Christian peoples of Europe."

Pius XII, as he would boast in 1946 to the College of Cardinals, resisted every pressure and rejected every plea, and he gave his reason: "National Socialism has had a more ominous effect on the German people than has Marxism on the Russians, so that only a total reversal of German policies, particularly of those relating to the Jews, could make any move on the part of the Holy See possible."

". . . particularly those relating to the Jews." Therein must lie the answer to the question posed by Robert Graham during the *Washington Post* interview, "How could one explain actions so contrary to the principle of neutrality?"

PEARL HARBOR
The Story of the Secret War
by George Morgenstern

Hailed by Revisionist giants Barnes, Beard, and Tansill when it appeared shortly after World War II, this classic remains unsurpassed as a one-volume treatment of America's Day of Infamy. Morgenstern's *Pearl Harbor* is the indispensable introduction to the question of who bears the blame for the Pearl Harbor surprise, and, more important, for America's entry through the "back door" into World War II. Attractive new IHR softcover edition with introduction by James J. Martin. 425 pp., index, biblio., maps, $14.95 + $2.50 shipping.



One in Ten Italians Reject Holocaust Story

One in ten Italians — 9.5 percent — believes that the holocaust extermination story is an "invention of the Jews," according to a public opinion poll. In addition, 42 percent of those surveyed criticize Jews for "playing up" the Holocaust story, particularly after half a century. Results of the survey, which was conducted by the large-circulation Italian magazine *Espresso*, were made public in early November 1992.

Wartime Vatican Role Debated

Anti-Defamation League Takes Aim at Italian-American Pride

Russ Granata

On October 25 and 26, 1992, the National Italian American Foundation (NIAF) and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL) co-sponsored a conference on "Italians and Jews: Rescue and Aid during the Holocaust" at the Regent Beverly Wilshire Hotel, Beverly Hills, California. I was there, as both a Revisionist and an Italian-American, for the second day of the conference.

The NIAF, based in Washington, D.C., describes itself as a non-profit foundation "dedicated to preserving the Italian heritage and values and providing a Washington voice for the Italian American community." Among its functions are "to promote a positive and realistic image of Italian Americans in the media" and "to encourage greater appreciation of the history and accomplishments of Italians and their descendants in America." Its introductory brochure sports photographs of a galaxy of Italian Americans prominent in many fields, including Governor Mario Cuomo of New York, Associate Justice Antonin Scalia, Joe DiMaggio, Lee Iacocca, Liza Minnelli, and the late A. Bartlett Giamatti.

An ADL brochure distributed there vaunted the group's role in "leading the fight against anti-Semitism," and further informed anyone who didn't already know that the ADL is made up of "advocates for Israel" who see that "challenges to Israel still lie ahead."

Wartime Italian-Jewish Cooperation

At the first session I attended, held on the morning of October 26, Father Robert Graham, an American Jesuit who has, according to Arthur Butz in *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, served "as the principal spokesman of the Vatican" on the stance of the Papacy toward the wartime Axis measures against the Jews, spoke on "The Italian Clergy and Hospitality to the Hounded Jews." Father Graham stressed the help that the Catholic clergy, particularly of the Franciscan order, gave in hiding Jews or aiding them to flee.

Professor Andrew Canepa, of the University of California, spoke next on the causes of the Italians' toleration of their small Jewish minority, which he laid to the Italian ability to assimilate many different immigrants through Italy's history, as well as an ability to accept ambiguity. (Professor Canepa, like all other speakers on the day I attended, avoided the touchy question of the positive, mutual affinity that Mussolini and his Fascists evinced for certain Zionists, above all Vladimir Jabotinsky, leader of the Zionist Revisionist movement and mentor of, among others, the late Israeli terrorist and premier Menachem Begin and his followers.)

"Enough of Ambiguity"

After an Italian priest, Father Augusto Moretti, regaled the audience with tales of heartfelt Italo-Jewish wartime collaboration, relations between the two ethnic groups in Beverly Hills took a swift turn for the worse. Rabbi Harold Schulweis, chairman of the conference committee, said to Professor Canepa, in effect, "Enough of Italian ambiguity already. What would have been the impact on Hitler if both Pope Pius XI and Pope Pius XII had spoken out for the Jews?" Professor Canepa shot back that had the Italian clergy denounced the "Holocaust" publicly, they themselves would have been arrested. Father Graham hastened to support this by pointing out that no matter how desirable a statement by Pius XII would have been, the Catholic underground nevertheless came through.

Rabbi Schulweis countered that, whatever the benefits of Italian ambiguity, it would have been better for the Jews had the Italians shown less of it on their behalf. He was seconded by another rabbi, Harvey Fields, whereupon an unidentified man who hurried to the dais from the audience exclaimed that Slovakia had been headed by an anti-Semitic priest (Msgr. Josef Tiso), whom the pope could have excommunicated, but didn't. After further denunciations of other Catholic nations and individuals, including Croatia, he turned to one of the priests and sneered: "They didn't do enough, but you say they did what they could!"

Charge and Counter-Charge

Now the pot was really boiling. Someone exclaimed from the audience, "The Vicar of God never opened his mouth!" A papal defender retorted that Pope Pius XII had kept the proper balance, saving thousands of Jews. Someone else mentioned the

---

Russ Granata taught European history, literature and German for 33 years in southern California public schools. A graduate of the University of California (B.A.) and the University of Southern California (M.A.), he is a specialist of European history and literature. He is a six-times decorated US Navy veteran of World War Two.

1937 anti-Nazi encyclical "Mit Brennender Sorge," but Professor H. Stuart Hughes (Univ. of Calif.-Santa Barbara) reminded from the dais that encyclical had been issued by Pius XI: Pius XII made no similar public statement during his pontificate.

A somewhat fitful calm was restored by Father Vivian Ben Lima of India, who said that he had known Jews in school in India, and that there was none of this anti-Semitic business back there when he was growing up: "I submit that anti-Semitism is a virus that comes from a European milieu." He observed that in any case the Vatican had made significant concessions to Jewry in the years after Pope Pius XII, and with that the conference moved to another room for lunch.

After the luncheon, Anna Maria Alberghetti and Father Victor Salandini were honored with awards. NIAF Vice Chairman Arthur Gajarsa introduced the ceremony, stating among other things that the main thing to remember from the conference is that the "Holocaust" must not happen again. (Not many minutes before, this was beginning to seem a near thing!). Miss Alberghetti was introduced to much applause from the crowd. The actress of stage and cinema, still a very attractive woman (I was able to talk with her afterward), offered some memories from her wartime girlhood in Italy: an aunt had been shot by the SS, she said, and her father, a music teacher who had trained more than a few Jewish cantors, had been arrested by the Fascists. Miss Alberghetti accepted a silver proof coin commemorating the 500th anniversary of Columbus's voyage of discovery in 1492. I could not help noticing that otherwise no one from the NIAF mentioned that event throughout the day.

Next we were able to see and hear Father Salandini, the self-styled "Tortilla Priest," who was presented the Giorgio Perlasca Humanitarian Award for "someone who has provided extraordinary service to people in need of assistance," and named for an Italian diplomat who allegedly prevented the deportation of thousands of Jews from Hungary in 1944 (presumably by giving them, or selling them, false papers). The Tortilla Priest qualified for this award by aiding striking members of Caesar Chavez's United Farm Workers Union against lettuce and grape producers (among them Italian-Americans): he earned his nickname by celebrating a Mass in front of the home of Robert Egger, an owner of the Egger-Ghio Company, in which he employed a tortilla as the host. (Following the luncheon I caught a glimpse of Mel Mermelstein, whom I hadn't seen earlier, moving through the hotel.)

That afternoon the theme was more conciliatory, with an American Jewish scholar, Dr. Paul Bookbinder of the University of Massachusetts, and an Italian Jewish scholar, Dr. Liliana Picciotto Fargion, from the Milan Center for Modern Jewish Documentation, essentially agreeing that, all things considered, the Italian people were pretty sympathetic to the Jews, and that the real villains were the Germans. (Dr. Bookbinder noted that even today, the Germans are blaming the disturbances in Rostock and other cities on immigrants, not themselves.)

NIAF official Frank Guida closed the conference, remarking that if attendees had not visited the synagogues in Rome, Milan, Florence, Palermo, and other Italian cities, they certainly should. He also claimed, "We as Roman Catholics think of what might have happened if Italy had been on the Allied side of the Second World War" (allegedly it was, at least for the last twenty months of the conflict). The last words he spoke were: "Arrivederci and shalom."

Atoning for Sins?

So much for Italian pride. One wonders about how Jews would react to a similar conference, titled, let's say, "Jews and Palestinians: Rescue and Aid 1948-1993," culminating in the presentation of a Folke Bernadotte award to, perhaps, Alfred Lilienthal. And after wondering, one ventures that organized Jewry, led by the ADL, would be enraged, describe such a conference as "anti-Semitic," and castigate any Jew who participated as "self-hating."

Are Zionist groups like the ADL targeting the growing "ethnic pride" movement by attaching themselves to various European-American groups, and then using them to promote their own concerns? Might they be planning to shift these groups' emphasis from justified pride in the legitimate achievements of their ancestors (and current kinfolk) to shame for how wickedly they allegedly treated Jews over the centuries, with a wonderful redemption in prospect if they own up to the sins of their forebears, and atone for them as dutiful servitors of Israel and the Zionist-Jewish lobby?

For a refutation of the charge that Pius XII was guilty of failing to help save the Six Million, read the following books, available from the IHR:

— Henri Roques' brilliant, suppressed doctoral thesis, *The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein* ($11, pb.), exposing the key "witness" against the Pope.

— Arthur Butz's *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* ($9.95, pb.), which includes a definitive explanation of the papal silence.

— Lenni Brenner's *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators* ($13, pb.), which documents Zionist collaboration with Mussolini's fascist regime.

MOVING?

Please be sure we receive your new address (along with your old one) in a timely manner, and we'll see that you don't miss a single issue.

The Holocaust Issue: Three Christian Views

Christian Responsibility to Truth

HERMAN OTTEN

While most Revisionists appear to be opposed to the construction of the [US government] Holocaust Museum in Washington, DC, right next to some of our nations's most cherished monuments, I say: Let it be built! One day it will serve as a monument to the stupidity of modern man, who can still accept a hoax as a fact. Hopefully it will then serve as a reminder to study all the facts and evidence, and repudiate all hoaxes.

The day is surely coming when all the evidence showing that the Germans never exterminated six million Jews can no longer be suppressed. Truth is not determined by majority vote. I learned this lesson in high school, and since then have repeatedly discovered how the majority of scholars, even within our churches, can be in error. That our presidents, senators and congressmen are all supposed to be convinced that the Germans killed six million Jews, that almost all of our nation's professors and churchmen are said to maintain that the Holocaust is a fact, doesn't make it a fact.

There is no dispute over the fact that large numbers of Jews were deported to concentration camps and ghettos, or that many Jews died or were killed during World War II. Revisionist scholars have presented evidence, which "exterminationists" have not been able to refute, showing that there was no German program to exterminate Europe's Jews, and that the estimate of six million Jewish wartime dead is an irresponsible exaggeration.

The Holocaust — the alleged extermination of some six million Jews (most of them by gassing) — is a hoax and should be recognized as such by Christians and all informed, honest and truthful men everywhere.

Here are the reasons that have impressed me as particularly persuasive in coming to my own conclusion that the Revisionist view of the Holocaust story is the correct one:

— There is no convincing or substantial evidence for the allegation of mass killings in gas chambers in the wartime German camps. Careful investigation — in particular that carried out by American engineer Fred Leuchter — has thoroughly discredited the "gas chamber" extermination claims.

— The most reliable statistics available cannot be reconciled with the legendary "six million" figure. The best evidence indicates that no more than a million, or perhaps a million and a half, European Jews perished from all causes during the war years.

— Neither the major Jewish organizations in the United States, nor the wartime Allied governments, nor the International Red Cross, nor the Vatican acted as if they seriously believed the wartime extermination propaganda.

— Although the German government kept extensive and detailed records of its wartime Jewish policy, not a single document has ever been found which substantiates or even refers to an extermination program or policy. Instead, the voluminous German records confiscated by the Allies at the end of the war clearly show that the German "final solution" program was one of emigration and deportation, not extermination.

Rev. Herman Otten speaking at the 1989 IHR Conference.

— Even prominent Jewish "exterminationist" historians now acknowledge that the stories of gassings and extermination in camps in Germany proper are not true, in spite of the fact that such claims were once seriously made, particularly at the great Nuremberg Trial of 1945-1946.

— The Holocaust story now centers on just six former camps in Poland. The so-called "evidence" presented to prove mass exterminations in these camps is qualitatively no better than the now discredited "evidence" once cited for extermination in the camps in Germany proper.

— Much of the co-called "evidence" presented by "exterminationists" over the years has already been thoroughly discredited. For example, the well-known horrific photographs of piles of corpses taken in camps in western Germany at the end of the war are now acknowledged to be photos of victims of disease and malnutrition who perished as indirect victims of the war in the final weeks and months of the conflict. Also, so-called "confessions" — such as those of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss — have been shown to be untruthful

and extracted by torture. Many of the official reports and testimonies presented as "evidence" by the prosecution in the Nuremberg trials have since been shown to be lies.

— The fact that so many Jews "survived" German rule during the war — many of them even in so-called "extermination" centers such as Auschwitz-Birkenau — is enough to show that there was no German program or policy to exterminate the Jews of Europe.

The Holocaust is a hoax. The time has come for Christian scholars and pastors to recognize this, and to stop perpetrating a hoax as the truth. A Christian is not free to believe and promote a lie about any person or nation. True Christian scholars should at least read what the Revisionists write.

Many have said to us: "What difference does it make? The truth of the Holocaust is of no concern to Christians." Nonsense! A Christian is not free to believe and promote a lie about any person or nation. A Christian is guided by truth and facts, not emotions and majority opinion.

If Christians can accept as historical fact the Holocaust, despite all the powerful evidence that it is a hoax, what does that say about their ability to evaluate evidence? What about their scholarship? Is it any wonder that some Revisionists, who have made a careful study of the Holocaust, question the scholarship of Christians, so many of whom swallow as absolute truth what is clearly a hoax?

I have been told numerous times, even by theologians who claim to be orthodox: "I don't care whether it was six million or one Jew, even one is too many." Such an attitude shows contempt for the truth. A Christian is to show true love, and the Apostle Paul tells us that love is "happy with the truth." (1 Cor. 13:6) The writing of Proverbs tells us: "Speak out for those who can't speak, for the rights of those who are doomed. Talk up, render fair decisions, and defend the rights of the poor and needy people." (Proverbs 31:9)

A Christian bases his faith upon facts and absolute truth, not feelings and emotion. A Christian recognizes that only God is all-knowing. A Christian is willing to listen to evidence and evaluate various viewpoints. He doesn't close his mind to the facts and evidence. He doesn't start out with the assumption that the Jew is right and the German is wrong, or that the Jew is wrong and the German is right. He looks at the evidence. Those who say they don't care if it was six million or one are showing a despicable attitude toward truth. They are saying: "We don't care about the truth." Such an attitude is sinful and worldly. Is it any wonder that so many then go on to act as it they don't care about another man's wife or property? The truthfulness of the Holocaust is a moral issue. Those who maintain that the Germans exterminated some six million Jews, most of them by gassing, are seeing to it that the Christian Church can no longer avoid speaking out. Churches are being pushed, as never before, to have special services commemorating the Holocaust.

A Christian is ready to change his opinion if the evidence shows he is wrong. Numerous times we have invited "exterminationists" to refute the Revisionists.

Some tell us that we have not shown love to the Jews, and that we are being racists and anti-Semitic when we publish articles by Revisionists questioning the Holocaust, and when we insist that Jesus Christ is the only way to heaven.

We have repeatedly emphasized in many editorials that the Bible teaches that there is no special chosen race. All those — regardless of color, race, nationality, sex, wealth, et cetera — who trust in the merits of Jesus Christ alone for their salvation are God's chosen people and will go to heaven. Those who tell Jews, Muslims, and any other non-Christian that they worship the true God, and can get to heaven without Christ, are not showing true love to the Jews and other non-Christians.

The so-called "fact" of the Holocaust is being used to deport innocent men from this country who, as teenagers, served with the German armed forces. In some cases they have been sent back to certain death in Communist lands. The [US government's] Office of Special Investigation is using the Holocaust as an excuse to force from the United States even such a reputable person as the scientist Arthur Rudolph.

Israel is using the "fact" of the Holocaust as an excuse to execute John Demjanjuk, an innocent Ukrainian-American. "The Jewish people have a long score to settle with the Ukrainian people" says Dov Ben-Meir, a deputy speaker of Israel's Knesset [parliament]. According to this top Israeli official, "unaccounted numbers" of Ukrainians "collaborated with the Nazi regime, especially in the annihilation of hundreds of thousands of Jews."

The "fact" of the Holocaust is being used by some to deny that Christianity is the only true religion, or that Jesus Christ rose from the dead.

Israel is using the "fact" of the Holocaust as an excuse to kill Palestinians in Israel. This slaughter, together with the anti-scriptural notions of the Israel-first Millennialists, almost all of whom believe in the Holocaust, could lead to another bloody war.

The Holocaust is not some innocent hoax, such as children's fairy tales that entertain and have no evil consequences.

The "chosen people" and "Holocaust" myths make mission work among non-Christians far more difficult. Arabs, who are told that the Bible teaches that their land belongs to the Jews, find it more difficult to believe what the Bible says about Christ.

"Victims Deserve Better"

JOSEPH SOBRAN

I haven't been to the new United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, but even a *Washington Post* reporter was shocked by what he describes its "outrageous" anti-Christian propaganda. The exhibition apparently dates anti-Semitism from the birth of Christ. And of course the implication of the Museum is that mass murder is worse when its victims are Jews.

Some surprisingly critical notes have been struck in the reviews of the Museum. Kay Larson, art critic for *New York* magazine, objects that "the Germans depicted here . . . are almost exclusively Nazis. . . . Most American children who endure the walk-through will think of Germans as Nazi pigs." She continues:

> The Jews endured the most dementedly calculated and well-documented — but hardly the only — case. To separate the Nazi evil from other evils is understandable but Eurocentric. It trivializes all suffering but its own. . . . It awards special, extra-human stature to the victims. Nothing that occurs inside Israel can be wrong, because Jews were gassed at Auschwitz. And so people set themselves apart from, against, and above others.

She has caught the note of most Holocaust rhetoric: intense self-absorption. This is a human reaction, and it can be excused up to a point. That point comes when those whose rights have been violated begin disregarding others' rights, as when Jewish apologists for Israel feel persecuted by criticism of Israel's brutality toward non-Jews.

Even many pro-Israel Jews feel uneasy about the Museum being in America, on government land, paid for with tax money. The implication of its presence is that all Gentiles, especially Christians, need to be instructed, to have their consciousness raised, even to be made to feel guilty about Jewish suffering. As if we didn't know that murder and persecution are wrong! As if Israel were a moral model for *us*!

In the same way, the implication of the word "anti-Semitism" is that the chief moral test for anyone is whether he has the correct attitude toward Jews. And again, this is understandable — but also very narrow. Murdering Ukrainians is every bit as evil as murdering Jews, after all. But why should we even have to say that?

The wrong lesson is being drawn. You would think that the evil of Hitler was mere anti-Semitism as such, rather than mass murder. But if anti-Semitism were confined to country-club snobbery, even Jews wouldn't mind it too much. The real evil is the use of the state as an instrument of death. Government, perverted from it modest uses, can magnify every crime unimaginably.

That is the real "lesson of the Holocaust," the lesson our time still refuses to learn. We think it's only the Hitler or Stalin version of the superstate that is wrong. But think how America's conduct in World War II would have appeared to our ancestors. It's hard for us to feel the sheer monstrosity of bombing cities.

I recently heard some interesting testimony on this point. During that war the US government commissioned a series of propaganda films from Frank Capra, which were made under the collective title "Why We Fight." One of them, "The Battle for China," describes the barbarity of the "Japs," also called "Nips," and mocked them for their "grinning yellow faces." Among the horrors perpetrated by the Japs was the unprecedented atrocity of bombing cities, killing civilians by the thousands!

Of course Capra and his staff didn't know that the US government was planning to do exactly that to Japanese and German cities. In their innocence, they assumed that only a savage, alien race could have stooped to such barbarism.

But we have supped full with horrors. Evil bores us. Its statistical extremes have long since lost their interest, and there is something ritually formulaic in the demands that we profess belief in, and abhorrence toward, Nazi and Communist abominations. "Holocaust denial" has become the big thought crime, denounced by Christians who are quite tolerant of those who deny the Redemption. No similar opprobrium, by the way, attaches to Gulag denial. After all, nobody who really believes a thing wants to force others to profess belief in it. Sincerity never demands hypocrisy.

Even the word "Holocaust" has come to seem a polemical appropriation of human suffering that verges on the indecent. I remember an old Jewish woman I slightly knew who had a number tattooed on her wrist. That told me all I needed to know about Hitler, and it would be pedantic to wonder whether a regime that was willing to brand Jews like cattle meant to kill them all. But it would have seemed morally crass to call what that woman had been through as a girl "the Holocaust": It's beginning to sound like a brand name, of special utility to glib hawkers. All the victims of World War II, including Jews, deserve more respect than that.

"Examine All the Evidence"

LOUIS VEZELIS

On April 22, 1993, an ugly, monstrous edifice was dedicated in Washington, DC. It is a grotesque museum dedicated to the victims of evil. The only problem is that the majority of people throughout the world have been conditioned like Pavlovian dogs to react irrationally to pre-determined stimuli. Those who refuse are summarily isolated from the rest of the dehumanized human herd through use of meaningless but emotionally-charged epithets.

It is quite easy to observe which newspapers are subservient to this modern day hoax. The subject is the so-called "Holocaust Museum" built on public land "generously" donated by the US government...

Insulting terminology in an editorial appearing in the left-wing, pro-Zionist, anti-Christian *Democrat and Chronicle* [newspaper of Rochester, New York] introduces the reader to the most obvious abuse of logic and good taste. But, logic and good taste have systematically been expunged from the American mind during a period of more than thirty years.

Well-informed American citizens demonstrated [in Washington, DC, on April 22] against the historically false accusations constantly made against the German people and other nationalities whose only real crime was resisting the international gangsters who facetiously call their brand of exploitation "Communism."

The *Democrat and Chronicle* editorial starts out:

> The mindless folks who were waving signs at the opening of the Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, last week claiming that the Holocaust never happened merely demonstrate why the museum is so important: to preserve the facts, before they disappear in the mists of history.

These "mindless folks" include none other than well-educated professors and professional historians, investigative reporters and, in general, are among the most descent people of a civilized society. It is their *right and duty* to examine all the evidence, and draw the truthful conclusions concerning what really happened in history.

There is already a strong indication that those who promote the Holocaust story are afraid of the truth. That can only explain the need for ridiculing those who seek only to present the entire matter before an open world forum of unbiased and unprejudiced investigators. Because the preponderance of objective and factual evidence shows the promoters of the Holocaust story to be libelous frauds, sneak tactics and irrational emotionalism must be used.

We are concerned for the truth. Only those who are not of the truth must resort to lies and bloodshed. Facts by themselves do not constitute truth. Truth is in the judgment. . .

The Hollywood cosmetics exploiting the unfortunate victims of death do not prove anything. For example, to film or photograph dead bodies, and then label them according to one's political need is a travesty of justice and truth beyond the capability of morally responsible individuals. Facts must be correctly interpreted before they can tell something of truth.

Another example is the famous "Anne Frank Diary" which has been foisted upon the American people at all levels. We all wept at the Hollywood tear-jerker action on the silver screen. Decent people reacted as expected by the unscrupulous falsifiers of fact. It has come to the attention of more and more people that this diary is a fraud. Yes, it has been proven to be fake. Public school facilities are periodically used to foist this fraud upon unsuspecting citizenry to re-enforce the psychological brainwashing.

Anne Frank was not fake: She really did live. But everything else about her life is a melodramatic, money-making operation to overwhelm the world with hatred for a nation. . . No one says anything comparable about the children brutally murdered by the Soviets when they occupied the Baltic States in 1940, and Germany in 1945.

A French Professor whose love for truth is greater than his love for fame and life, Robert Faurisson, has proven that the alleged "diary" of Anne Frank could not have been written by her. . .

While the American people are being lulled into very dangerous apathy by being fed psycho-babble, a real holocaust, including child murder, is taking place every day in occupied Palestine. . .

Could it be that someone is trying to put a guilt complex on the American people so they will not dare raise a loud voice of protest against greater evils?

Herman Otten is a Lutheran pastor and editor-publisher of the weekly *Christian News* of New Haven, Missouri. This commentary is excerpted from his address at the Ninth IHR Conference. The complete text is published in the Fall 1989 *Journal*.

Joseph Sobran is a nationally-syndicated columnist, lecturer and Critic-at-Large for *National Review*. This commentary is taken from his "Washington Watch" column in the May 13, 1993, issue of *The Wanderer*, a conservative Roman Catholic weekly.

Louis Vezelis, O.F.M., is editor of *The Seraph*, a traditionalist Roman Catholic monthly published by the Franciscan Friars (Order of St. Francis of Assisi) of Rochester, New York. This commentary is from an editorial by Bishop Vezelis in the May 1993 issue of *The Seraph*.

"Even in a world as degenerate as ours, one can still lead a life worthy of living. It means remaining unbought and true to one's dignity, and never to lift a finger for the unworthy — even at the cost of sacrifice."

— Joachim Fernau, German writer, in his published collection of letters *In dem Hause auf dem Berge* (Munich, 1992). quoted in: *Nation und Europa* (Coburg), June 1993, p. 13.

In Europe:
Further Legal Persecution of Revisionists

German University Professor Charged for Holocaust Remarks

A respected German university professor has been charged with "popular incitement" because he told some colleagues six years ago that the Holocaust story is not true.

Rainer Ballreich, who teaches "biomechanics" at the sports institute of the University of Frankfurt, reportedly told a few colleagues at a 1987 meeting of the German Sports League that the story of six million murdered Jews is a lie, and that most concentration camp deaths were due to disease and malnutrition. The alleged remarks were first made public last March in an open letter by one of those present. (*Frankfurter Neue Presse*, March 26, 1993 p. 18.)

Ballreich, 62, has a respected name in his profession. From 1974 to 1988 he was a member of the scholarly commission of the Federal Committee for Sports Achievement of the German Sports League. Until 1988 he was chairman of the "Movement and Training" section of the Federal Institute for Sports Science, which is supervised jointly the German Interior Ministry and the German Sports League. Until last year Professor Ballreich was a member of the credentials committee of the Federal Institute for Sports Science.

Ballreich denies the charge against him. The case is further complicated because there is a five year statute of limitations for the crime.

Teacher Faces Legal Action for Denial of Mass Gassings

A German teacher faces dismissal and legal action for his rejection of claims of mass killings in gas chambers during the Second World War.

Hans-Jürgen Witzsch teaches German and history at the metropolitan school of economics in Nuremberg. The 53-year-old educator (*Oberstudienrat*) and former city council member, is also chairman of a local revisionist group.

In January he sent a letter to Bavarian Radio expressing support for the revisionist views of British historian David Irving. Witzsch wrote:

> For me, along with many other historians, there is no longer any reasonable doubt that the claim of gas chambers as extermination facilities during the National Socialist period is an invention of wartime atrocity propaganda, and a claim for which there is no real proof.

Because of his revisionist views about the Second World War, Witzsch was suspended in 1981 from teaching at the city's metropolitan school of economics. However, the suspension was overturned on appeal to a court, and he resumed teaching at the school in the fall of 1991. (*Nürnberger Nachrichten*, March 26, p. 11.)

Swiss Teacher Suspended For Holocaust Book

Because he wrote a book that disputes claims of wartime extermination gas chambers, a Swiss teacher has been summarily suspended from his position.

Jürgen Graf was suspended as a teacher of Latin and French at a secondary school in Therwil (near Basel) in late March shortly after the publication of his book, *Der Holocaust auf dem Prüfstand: Augenzeugenberichte versus Naturgesetze* ("The Holocaust on the Test Stand: Eyewitness Reports versus the Laws of Nature"). The 112-page softcover work provides a well-organized introduction to the Holocaust issue from a revisionist perspective. (This book is also mentioned in the July-August 1993 *Journal*, p. 25.)

Graf distributed copies of his book, along with a four-page cover letter, to numerous history teachers, professors, journalists and political figures across Switzerland.

Graf says that he was very much aware of the likely repercussions of the publication of his book, and fully expected that official action of some kind would be taken against him. "I had to expect to be suspended from school service," he says. "De facto," this suspension is "a dismissal without notice."

Someone like Graf "obviously" cannot be a teacher, an official of the Swiss Federal Education and Cultural Affairs Authority has declared. Graf's book is "absolutely not open to discussion."

During the year and a half that he worked as a teacher in Therwil, Graf was well regarded by both colleagues and students as an "involved and competent teacher." He did not speak about the Holocaust issue in his classroom sessions. (*Basellandschaftliche Zeitung*, March 24.)

Graf, who was born in Switzerland in 1951, strongly rejects allegations that he is a neo-Nazi or an anti-Semite. "I respect the truth," he explains. "I can no longer live with the gas chamber lie."

Graf readily acknowledges that Europe's Jews suffered terribly under German rule during the war years. "Every decent person strongly condemns

these brutal persecutions," he says.

It was only after intensive study — including reading of more than 150 books — that Graf came to the conclusion in 1991 that the generally accepted Holocaust story is a product of wartime propaganda. There were no extermination gas chambers, and no systematic extermination of Jews during the war years, he writes.

A second and much more detailed work by Graf appeared in June. *Der Holocaust-Schwindel: Vom Werden and Vergehen des Jahrhundertbetrugs* ("The Holocaust Swindle: The Development and Passing of the Hoax of the Century") is a copiously referenced 250-page softcover book. A letter by Dr. Robert Faurisson serves as a preface to the work.

Graf promises to openly defy a new Swiss "Anti-Racism" law that provides for heavy fines or imprisonment for those who "deny the genocide or the crimes against humanity."

As we go to press, Graf's two books are still available from: Guideon Burg Verlag, Postfach 52, CH-4009 Basel, Switzerland.

Doubts About Holocaust Story Permissible, German Judge Rules

In a remarkable verdict, a German court has found a key Revisionist activist innocent of the crime of "denying" the Holocaust extermination story.

On May 25, Munich court judge Florian Schenk declared defendant Ewald Althans innocent of charges arising from statements he made during a 1992 television interview expressing doubt about claims of systematic extermination of Jews during the Second World War.

In a vigorously delivered and evidently persuasive defense plea, made by Althans himself, the gifted 27-year-old cited the drastically divergent figures of Auschwitz victims, as well as the findings of Jewish American revisionist David Cole. (For more about Cole and his work, see the March-April 1993 *Journal*.)

While German law "of course" makes it a crime to *deny* mass extermination, said Judge Schenk, expressing *doubt* about extermination or mass gassings is not forbidden. Althans had "merely doubted" the Holocaust story, declared Schenk, who said that expressions of doubt are necessary in order to arrive at the truth. The German law that makes it a crime to "deny" the Holocaust story could be a dangerous restriction of freedom of expression, he added.

Schenk also criticized the behavior of the police during a demonstration by the "Ecological Left" on January 16 against Althans' Munich headquarters. Schenk expressed disgust with the behavior of the police, who escorted the leftist mob to the site, and then stood by while the hoodlums carried out their crimes of violence.

Althans is a major distributor of Revisionist writings in Germany. He works closely with German-Canadian publisher and publicist Ernst Zündel.

State prosecutors are appealing the verdict, which Althans called "phenomenal" and a "splendid victory."

Health Care Worker Sentenced for Distributing Revisionist Paper

A German court has sentenced a 30-year-old health care worker to four months imprisonment, suspended for three years, for distributing copies of a tabloid paper that rejects the Holocaust extermination story.

In March, a court in Hameln found the defendant, identified in newspaper reports only as "Rainer W.," guilty of defamation, popular incitement, and incitement to racial hatred.

The defendant, who works in the nearby town of Bad Pyrmont, freely acknowledging distributed 300 copies of an issue of *Remer Depesche*, a tabloid paper published by retired German general Otto Ernst Remer. Rainer W. expressed his support for the views of Remer's paper, and spoke in court of the "Six Million Lie." A newspaper report on the case expressed astonishment that he felt no sense of guilt for his "crime." (*Bad Pyrmonter Nachrichten*, March 19.)

Remer Depesche is considered particularly "incendiary," the local newspaper reported, because it claims that there was no systematic wartime extermination of Jews. (For more about Remer and his paper, see the March-April *Journal*, pp. 29-30.)

Citing the right of freedom of expression guaranteed in Germany's "Basic Law," Rainer W. told the court that he was legally entitled to distribute the *Remer Depesche*. State prosecuting attorney Nikolaus Borchers sharply rejected this argument, insisting that the right does not apply in this case. The right of freedom of expression, said Borchers, is not unlimited and cannot be abused to libel others. The "persecution of the Jews," he went on to explain, has been "historically proven," and is not open to discussion.

Calling Rainer W. a "criminal by conviction," the prosecuting attorney argued that the public must be protected from his activities. Borchers asked the court to punish him with a fine of 2,000 marks (about $1,200), and six months imprisonment, suspended for three years.

Rainer W. rejected an offer by Borchers to reduce the sentence if he promised to "improve." The defendant was encouraged by the presence of many friends and supporters, who filled the courtroom. He is appealing the sentence.

South African Member of Parliament Under Fire for Support of Revisionism

Because he expressed public support for the revisionist cause of truth in history in a letter to the Institute for Historical Review, a South African lawmaker has come under attack from Zionist-Jewish organizations.

South African newspapers have reported on a letter in the November 1992 *IHR Newsletter*, by Louis F. Stofberg, a senior Conservative party member of the House of Assembly in Cape Town. In the letter he wrote:

> I have just received the *IHR Newsletter* for October with the good news that Zündel has won in Canada's Supreme Court. Please convey my congratulations and good wishes to Ernst Zündel. Like the IHR itself, he is a hero of the truth unsurpassed in our times.
>
> Our enemies have done everything, and their worst, to stop him. They have failed, and revisionism can go forward with greater confidence than ever before that victory will be ours.

A report on the letter in the Johannesburg *Star*, the country's largest-circulation daily paper, was headlined "CP MP defends letter about Holocaust" (May 14).

A lengthier report in *The Weekly Mail*, also of Johannesburg, was headlined "CP's Stofberg linked to neo-Nazis" (May 14-20). This sensational article seemed less concerned about the lawmaker's acclaim for the IHR, than for his praise of "neo-Nazi" Zündel. As Stofberg explained to journalists, though, he praised Zündel as a defender of free speech, not for his political views.

The *Weekly Mail* article absurdly characterizes the IHR as a group that has "claimed that Auschwitz and other death camps were built by the Allies after the war in an attempt to smear the Nazis."

An official of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies says of Stofberg: "It is scandalous in today's world that an MP should deny the Holocaust." In *Holocaust Denial*, a new book compiled and published by the American Jewish Committee, AJC official Kenneth Stern criticizes Stofberg for his letter in the *IHR Newsletter*.

Interestingly, Stofberg has not (yet) been criticized for his letter in the Summer 1992 issue of the *Journal* (p. 246), which concludes: "It is very gratifying indeed to note how the truth of revisionism is breaking through. Please accept our deepest appreciation for the great job you and your associates are doing."

Who reads the Journal? Letters from a US Senator and an Austrian President about articles in the *Journal*

United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510

April 21, 1993

Dear Dr. John,

Thank you very much for having taken the time to write and to send the excerpt from [the March-April 1993 *Journal* of Robert John's review of] Issah Nakleh's *Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem*. I am glad to have it, and I anticipate that it will prove to be of use.

Sincerely,

[signed]
Daniel Patrick Moynihan

Der Bundespräsident

September 15, 1986

Dear Mr. John,

Many thanks for your kind wishes on the occasion of my election to the Presidency of the Republic of Austria. I was deeply touched by your thoughtful gesture.

I have read with great interest your article [in the Winter 1985-86 *Journal*] on the Balfour Declaration and other historical aspects. I return you herewith *The Journal of Historical Review*.

One of the first important steps to overcome the horrible consequences of a tragedy, as was World War II, was to build up an atmosphere of understanding of mutual esteem between Europeans and Americans. That is why I appreciated so much your letter.

With warmest regards and best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

[signed]

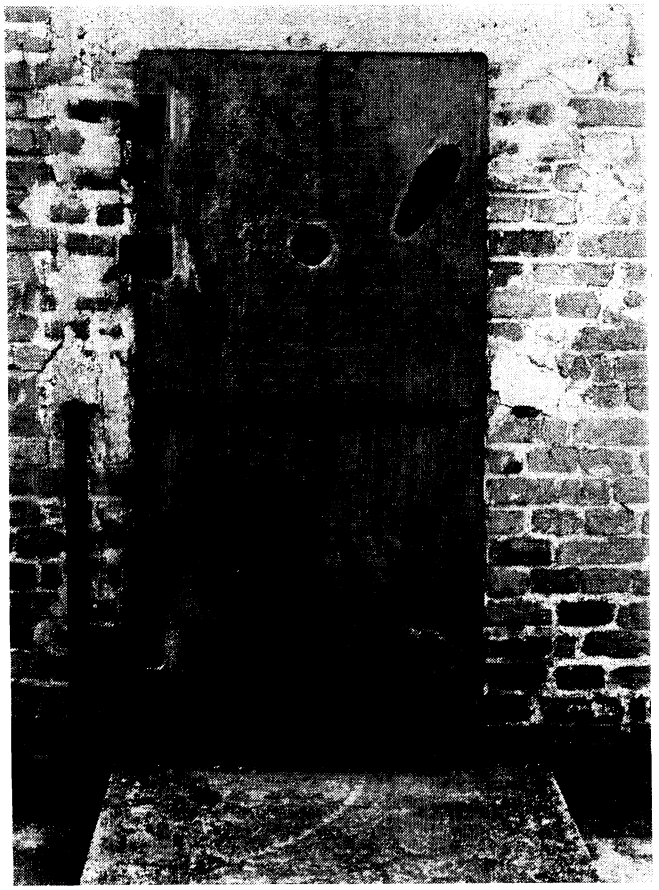
Kurt Waldheim

"Let truth and falsehood grapple freely, for whoever knew the truth put to the worst in a free and open encounter."

— John Milton

Gas Chamber Door Fraudulently Portrayed at US Holocaust Museum

Visitors at the recently opened US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, will find on display a casting of a door of a supposed extermination gas chamber. This artifact is presented as graphic evidence of the chemical slaughterhouses supposedly used by the Germans to systematically exterminate masses of Jews during the Second World War.



This door on display at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum is fraudulently portrayed as the door of an extermination gas chamber.

According to the March 1990 issue of the Museum's official *Newsletter*, this is "a casting of the door that sealed one of the gas chambers at the Majdanek killing center in Poland." This door is also shown in *The World Must Know: The History of the Holocaust as Told in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, a book by Museum official Michael Berenbaum. A photograph of it appears on page 138 (reproduced here) along with a caption describing it as "a casting of the door to the gas chamber at Majdanek . . . from the outside, SS guards could observe the killing through a small peephole."

French anti-Revisionist researcher Jean-Claude Pressac reports on this door in his 563-page book, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (published in 1989 by "Nazi hunters" Serge and Beate Klarsfeld). He provides a photograph of the building in the Majdanek camp, including the door from which the Holocaust Museum casting was made.

As Pressac correctly notes, this door did indeed close on a gas chamber at Majdanek. However, as he concedes (on pages 555 and 557 of his book), this was a *delousing* chamber used to disinfest clothing. The only living things killed in this gas chamber were lice.

The fraud of the US Holocaust Museum in presenting this "gas chamber" door was pointed out by *Journal* editor Mark Weber in his speech in suburban Washington, DC, on April 21, and by IHR editorial advisor Dr. Robert Faurisson in the July-August *Journal* (pages 14-17).

Shattering the Icon of Abraham Lincoln

By Sam Dickson

A Paper Presented to the **Seventh International Revisionist Conference**, October 1986

Softcover • 32 pages

Notes • $2.50 + 75¢ shipping

from Institute for Historical Review

"The astonishing thing about this paper on Abraham Lincoln is that it is needed at all or is considered controversial. In my opinion, one does not have to be a scholar to ferret out obscure and suppressed facets of history to see Abraham Lincoln as he was."

—Sam Dickson

"The profoundest of all infidelities is the fear that the truth will be bad."

— Herbert Spencer

British Historian Hugh Trevor-Roper On the Gerstein "Confessions," the Roques Thesis, and the Gas Chamber Question

While serving as a British army intelligence officer during the Second World War, Hugh-Trevor Roper earned a reputation as a leading expert on the German military intelligence service. At the end of the war, he was called upon to investigate the many stories then circulating about Hitler's fate. The results of his inquiry, which he made public in late 1945, immediately brought an end to fantastic tales that Hitler had survived the war.

Trevor-Roper's investigation became the basis for a book, The Last Days of Hitler, *which was first published in 1947. By 1983, almost half a million copies of this widely acclaimed work had been sold worldwide.*

In 1957, Trevor-Roper's friendship with Harold Macmillan, then Prime Minister, helped secure for him the prestigious post of Regius Professor of History at Oxford University, which he held for many years. His criticisms of The Origins of the Second World War, *a revisionist work by fellow British historian A.J.P. Taylor, have been widely quoted.*

Prime Minister Thatcher granted Trevor-Roper a peerage in 1979, and a year later he took the title Lord Dacre of Glanton. Perhaps the most embarrassing moment in his career came in 1983, when he inspected the spurious "Hitler diaries" and, after only a cursory examination, pronounced them to be authentic. (For more on this, see Robert Harris' Selling Hitler, *reviewed in the Winter 1986-87* Journal.*)*

In the following letter, Lord Dacre (Trevor-Roper) comments on the doctoral work of French historian Henri Roques. (Roques' dissertation, which is published in English by the IHR under the title The "Confessions" of Kurt Gerstein, *is available from the IHR for $11, plus $2 shipping. Roques, a member of the IHR editorial advisory committee, addressed the 1987 IHR Conference. His presentation appeared in the Spring 1988* Journal.*)*

As he makes clear in this letter — published here in full with permission of Henri Roques — Trevor-Roper generally accepts the orthodox Holocaust extermination story. At the same time, though, the renowned British historian expresses praise for French scholar's work, confirms the unreasoning persecution that befalls those who dare question the orthodox Holocaust story, and dismisses the supposedly authoritative evidence presented at the main Nuremberg trial for execution gassings at the Dachau and Buchenwald camps.

Hugh Trevor-Roper (Lord Dacre)

House of Lords
The Old Rectory
Didcor
Oxon OX11 7EB
[England]
17 May 1990

Dear Monsieur Roques

I greatly appreciate the trouble you have taken to write to me so fully about your thesis and its consequences. Many thanks for your letter.

I was impressed by your thesis when I read it in Mr. Percival's translation. I thought it an entirely legitimate, scholarly and responsible work of *Quellenkritik* [source critique] on a limited but important subject, and I was shocked by Mr. Percival's account, in his preface, of its rejection on what seem to me irrelevant non-intellectual grounds. Indeed, I found it difficult to believe that account — or Mr. Percival's explanation of the attack, *viz*: that French professors, because of the centralization of French education, are mere functionaries, obedient, even in intellectual matters, to the government. From your letter I see that Mr. Percival has indeed simplified the story. In any case, the manifesto in *Le Monde* is not directly relevant to your case since it preceded it in time. Mr. Percival did not, I think, make this perfectly clear.

I consider that you have shown that Gerstein's testimony cannot be relied upon. The logical consequence of this, as it seems to me, is that we should (at least provisionally) exclude it altogether from the

evidence. What evidence then remains for the gas-chambers?

I agree that, at first, many irresponsible statements were made — e.g. about gas-chambers at Dachau and Buchenwald. But we can forget them. We are concerned with the "extermination camps" in the General Gouvernment of Poland. You argue that the elimination of Gerstein's evidence eliminates the alleged gas chambers at Belzec; and your thesis suggests (though it does not explicitly state) that if the gas chambers at Belzec disappear, the others follow them into limbo. However, in your letter, you concede that this is not a necessary consequence: you *believe* that the other did not exist, but you do not claim to have demonstrated it.

I am not competent to argue the matter. It is a long time since I saw the evidence and I am now too preoccupied (and too old) to immerse myself in the controversy. I also know, from experience (as you have found), that the controversy is itself dangerous. The Jews suffered so horribly during the war that any comment which seems to reduce that suffering, even if it is merely a scholarly attempt to disengage history from mythology, is at once regarded as a kind of blasphemy. Arno Mayer, whose book I have read [*Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?*], has experienced this. And of course there are some such commentators with whom one does not wish to be associated.

I would hope to see the whole evidence fairly re-examined without reference to Gerstein; but I am not prepared to undertake that task myself: The evidence is too indistinct in my mind. I take it that there is no need to argue about the *Einsatzkommandos* or the policy of extermination; only about the systematic gassing in particular camps. That gas was used in mobile vans we know; and we know that this was found to be unsatisfactory and that a "cleaner" and more systematic method of destruction was sought. We know that experts were sent out from the department T2 (which used gas in the euthanasia project) and that T2 was directly controlled from the *Führerkanzlei*, thus showing Hitler's personal involvement (also admitted in Goebbels' *Diary*). So the circumstantial evidence is strong. What then of the actual, or alleged chambers?

In my letter to Mr. Percival I think I referred to the evidence of Pfannenstiel at Belzec and of Hoess as commandant of Auschwitz, which is demonstrably independent. You dismiss this, offering what you admit to be speculative motives for Pfannenstiel's testimony, and regarding Hoess as a dubious source (I don't know why). I can find other motives — still speculative, but to me more plausible — for Pfannenstiel; and I also consider that von Otter's account has some relevance. But since we are both speculating about motives, we can agree to differ there. On the technical aspects cited by you in your thesis, and by Fred Leuchter, I am incompetent to express a view.

So there I must leave the matter — in suspense — only saying that I regard your thesis as entirely legitimate and very interesting, and that I hope your appeal to the Conseil d'Etat is upheld!

Yours sincerely, Dacre

The Exposé that Shatters the Myth of Pope Pius XII's Complicity in the Holocaust

THE 'CONFESSIONS' OF KURT GERSTEIN

Author Henri Roques' doctoral thesis made world headlines in 1986 when, for the first time in the nearly eight-century history of French universities, a duly awarded doctorate was revoked by government order. What Roques had done was produce a closely argued thesis that struck at the very roots of the Holocaust story's credibility by challenging the "confessions" of SS officer Kurt Gerstein.

Henri Roques

For the first time, the accusations of Gerstein—the enigmatic, twisted Third Reich functionary who claimed to have witnessed mass gassings of Jews in 1942—were subjected to thorough critical review. Roques' stunning conclusion: *not only are Gerstein's allegations of a mass extermination of Jews, and a Roman Catholic cover-up of the slaughter groundless, but postwar academics have deliberately manipulated and falsified key parts of Gerstein's tortured testimony.*

An indispensable resource for scholar and layman alike, ***The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein*** provides transcripts and translations of all six versions of Gerstein's story, as well as photocopies of the originals; a searching examination of both the authenticity and credibility of the "confessions"; and numerous documents and records which have never before been published.

Had I been a member of the jury, I would probably have given a grade of "Very good" to Mr. Roques' thesis.
—Michel de Bouard, Institut de France

. . .From now on researchers will have to take his work into account. . .
—Alain Decaux, Académe Française

The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein by Henri Roques
Translated from the French by Ronald Percival
Softcover • 318 pp. • Index, Charts • $11 + $2.50 postage
ISBN 0-939484-27-7
Available from
INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW

The Adventure of Revisionism

ROBERT FAURISSON

With rare exceptions, a Revisionist researcher is not an intellectual closeted in his study. Even if he were to choose a hermit's life, society would soon see to the end of his isolation.

To begin with, a Revisionist must be willing to travel wherever his research requires, and to carry out investigations on the spot. And because he'll receive no help from the authorities — on the contrary — the Revisionist must learn to outwit his adversaries and overcome a hundred obstacles to achieve his goals. Life itself becomes his teacher.

He must establish and cultivate contacts with fellow Revisionists around the globe, for no researcher can isolate himself from the work of others. Speaking for myself, Revisionism has brought me to many lands, in particular the United States of America, Canada and Germany, as well as Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium, Norway, Sweden, Austria, Switzerland, Spain, Italy, Poland, and a few other countries. (Historical Revisionism is also growing in Australia, New Zealand, Ukraine, Japan, Tunisia, South Africa, Iran and Peru.)

In cultivating these contacts, one discovers the ways that different mentalities — Anglo-Saxon, Germanic, Latin, Arab, Jewish, Catholic, Protestant, Muslim and atheist — confront one of the mightiest taboos in history: the Jewish "Holocaust." Revisionism, which lays bare the taboo, thus uncovers differences in outlook as well.

It reveals, too, what individuals are made of and how institutions actually function. I like to watch the face of a man or a woman, an oldster or a teenager, as he or she trembles upon hearing, for the first time, the sacrilegious words of a Revisionist. With some, the face colors and the eyes light up: curiosity is aroused. Others pale; the person who believed in his own tolerance discovers his bigotry, and the one who had easily opened his heart quickly slams it shut.

Confronted by Revisionism, institutions likewise show themselves for what they are: products of circumstantial arrangements on which time has conferred an aura of respectability. The judiciary, for instance, claims to defend justice (a virtue!) or to uphold the law (a necessity), and would have us believe that, as a group, judges care for truth. But, when a judge finds himself obliged to try a Revisionist, how odd to watch as he jettisons the scruples he and his colleagues claim to honor! When faced with a Revisionist, there exists for a judge neither faith, nor law, nor right. In confronting Revisionism, the judiciary shows just how rickety it is.

As for the petty little world of journalism, the media demonstrates how it, more than anyone, is careful to traffic only in authorized ideas and wares; while at the same time it fosters, through its antics, the illusion of a free circulation of ideas and opinions — not unlike jesters in a tyrant's court.

The Revisionist lives dangerously. Police, judges and journalists lurk in wait for him. He may end up in prison — or the hospital. He risks economic ruin for himself and his family. Little of that matters to him. He lives, he dreams, he imagines. He feels that he is free. It's not that he cherishes illusions about the impact of his findings. These frighten everyone; they are too much in contradiction to accepted knowledge. These findings strike at two great human mysteries: the general mystery of fear, and the specific mystery of the need for belief, belief in something, no matter what.

One historian, after finishing a five-volume *History of Mankind*, was once asked: "After all is said and done, what is the chief motivation of human history?" After a long hesitation, he replied: "Fear." There is no question that fear is an overwhelming factor, and that it assumes in man, more than in beast, the most striking, and sometimes the most ludicrous, forms, no less than the most deceptive disguises. In most men, but certainly not in all, the mystery of fear combines with another mystery: that is, as already indicated, the need, the desire, or the will to believe for the sake of believing. For this there is a saying in English that we lack in French: "the will to believe." Céline said: "The fury to lie and *to believe* spreads like the itch." ("La rage de mentir *et de croire* s'attrape comme la gale.") Before him, La Fontaine noted: "Man is frozen to truths. He is on fire for lies." ("L'homme est de glace aux vérités. Il est de feu pour les mensonges.")

Revisionism can correct history, but it will correct nothing of human nature. On the other hand, the future will prove the Revisionists, as writers of history, were right. There is already too much evidence to show that the progress of Revisionism is inexorable. Revisionism is destined for a place in history "as the great intellectual adventure of the end of the century."

Robert Faurisson, Europe's foremost Holocaust Revisionist scholar, is a frequent *Journal* contributor. This essay was translated by IHR editor Theodore J. O'Keefe.

How Fake War Propaganda Stories Are Manufactured

M.J.I.C./3.b. SECRET.

Suggestions for Rumours of a Military Nature submitted through the Inter-Services Security Board for the current week.

Serial No.	Suggestions.	Submitted by	Remarks by I.S.S.B.
A.	GENERAL. Note: This rumour is designed to suggest that although the Germans may have a peace offer in mind, (a) such offers are never genuine, (b) the British have no intention of negotiating. 1. The reason the Germans want peace is that they have worked out that it will require 200 divisions to hold the Russian front in winter. Fifteen divisions are proving too few even for the Russian guerrillas.	P.I.B	No security objection.
B.	GERMANY. Note: Nos 1-7 are designed to stress the horrors of the Russian winter and are aimed at German women, particularly the older generation. 1. The wolves in White Russia track ambulance columns by the smell of blood.	"	"
	2. Two ambulance columns from the East Front ran out of petrol in a forest in White Russia and were besieged by wolves for three days when they were rescued only the guards were left alive and the only doctor had gone mad	"	"
	3. The Wehrmacht have realised that heavy casualties among specialist troops are killing off all their numbers and have insisted that men over 40 should be drafted into shock battalions.	"	"
	4. Now that the East Front war has become less mechanised the last war soldier has come more into his own and is getting more of the fighting.	"	"
	5. At a certain point on the homeward journey guards and attendants on German hospital trains are ordered to put their gas masks on. The train then enters a tunnel where it stays for half an hour. When it comes out the wounded are dead. Note. This rumour was suggested by the J.I.C.	"	"
	6. There are special wards in some of the more remote German hospitals for noseless, earless, toeless and fingerless soldiers - frostbite cases.	"	"

Manufactured "rumors," designed to mislead and demoralize the German public during the Second World War, were proposed to the British War Cabinet's Joint Intelligence Sub-Committee in October 1941. "Rumor" number five, which was suggested by the Joint Intelligence Committee, is a story that the Germans were using poison gas to secretly kill off their own wounded soldiers.

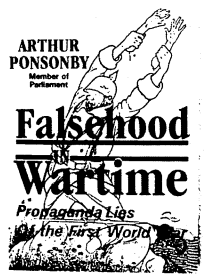
This document, and other records of this Committee, were kept secret until earlier this year, when they were released to the Public Record Office in London. This document is reproduced in facsimile from *The Independent Magazine* (London), March 27, 1993, p. 59.

"Works Every Time"

" 'It's a sad fact,' said the principal philanthropist of the grotesque Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles, 'that Israel and Jewish education and all the other familiar buzzwords no longer seem to rally Jews behind the community. The Holocaust, though, works every time.' His candor was refreshing, even if it was obscene. On the subject of the extermination of the Jews of Europe, the Jews of America are altogether too noisy."

— Leon Wieseltier,
literary editor of *The New Republic*,
writing in the issue of May 3, 1993, p. 20.

FALSEHOOD IN WARTIME
by Arthur Ponsonby, M.P.



First published in 1928, this trenchant volume authoritatively debunks numerous atrocity lies fabricated and circulated about the Germans during World War I. Learn how professional liars — three decades before the Holocaust story — manufactured such fakes as as a "German corpse factory," "the crucified Canadian," handless Belgian infants, and scores more with typewriter, scissors and paste to lead millions to misery, mutilation, and death. Lord Ponsonby's classic remains indispensable for anyone concerned to see through government and media lies today — and tomorrow. New softcover edition, 192 pp., $6.95 + $2 shipping from IHR.

The Holocaust Issue and Middle East Policy

ALFRED M. LILIENTHAL

One is unable to discuss Middle East policy without bringing up this question of the Holocaust. Let me make my thinking clear: The Nazi genocide was a gross tragedy. It matters little whether six million or three million, or but three Jews were killed, simply because they were Jews. It was one of the worst abominations committed against humanity. But we ought to also remember that other peoples, other than Jews, were victimized as well. There is no reason why, today, 47 years after the end of World War II, we must constantly look back over our shoulders and dwell infinitely on the tragedy of that time, rather than to move forward and seek remedies for our many current ills.

The reason for this continuing backward look is to make us all feel guilty, Christians and Jews alike, and to silence us in the face of what has been going on in Palestine's occupied territories, the West Bank and Gaza. Day in and day out, the media — led by *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and the television networks — in stories and headlines, aim to make us all feel guilty as hell. It is either a reunion of Holocaust survivors, if not a gathering of the grandchildren, and even the story of the great grandchildren. "Bormann is alive," ran the headlines five years ago. And more recently, the bones of the killer Mengele were exhumed, to see whether or not the Nazi was really dead and buried there. These stories always appear in booming headlines.

Concentrate the attention of public opinion makers and the American people on the many sins of mankind committed against the Jews through genocide and anti-Semitism, in its many forms, and inject Holocaustomania into every possible aspect of daily life, politics, religion, the arts and the entertainment world. Then, no one will ever be able to make a reasoned, logical judgment on how best we can bring about peace in the harassed Middle East.

American attention is thus diverted from the dangerous incubator of future war, the abysmal neglect of Palestinian human rights. Many Americans here at home who see this are, however, inhibited and fearful of speaking out, lest they be labeled "anti-Semites" by the partisans of Israel.

I sense a growing stirring and latent, ugly anti-Semitism resulting from this free-speech suppression. This deeply concerns me, as it must many others.

The policies of the State of Israel, as well as Zionism and the Jews, must be open to constructive criticism. I do not believe the Holocaust saga should be sanctified as if it were our third holy book along with the Old and New Testaments. Even they are open to scrutiny in the search for truth.

Thomas Jefferson once asked the Virginia legislature, "For God's sake, why can't we really hear *both sides*?"

I do not believe that questioning certain exaggerated details of the grossest act of humanity, as I have done, and will continue to do, is tantamount to asserting there was no Holocaust. Only a big fool or a greater villain takes such a view today. When I questioned the authenticity of *The Diary of Anne Frank*, I was widely assailed. It cost me dearly in my relations with my alma mater, Cornell University. But there is a fundamental difference between saying there was no Holocaust, and insisting that the Holocaust not be used continuously as a justification and a cover up to win sympathy for the Zionist position and Israeli excesses, and as an excuse for ignoring the plight of the Palestinians.

Unfortunately, it is no exaggeration to sadly note that worship of the State of Israel and the Holocaust, have become the new Golden Calves of Jewry, and that they are slowly supplanting the worship of Yahweh. The Chief Rabbi of Britain, Immanuel Jakobovits, has stated that the Holocaust has become "an industry far from the soul of Judaism."

Relative to this, when I spoke at Claremont in 1976, I pleaded for a free and open debate on US Middle East policy as a prime necessity. I called for discussion in which both speaking out in favor of the Palestinian right to self-determination, and against accepting chapter and verse of the oft-repeated tale of Nazi genocide and anti-Semitism, can take place without drawing the label of "anti-Semite." Unfortunately, as eminent columnist Joe Sobran recently quipped, "It used to be that an anti-Semite was anyone who hated Jews. Now, it is anyone whom Jews hate."

Alfred M. Lilienthal, historian, journalist and lecturer, is a graduate of Cornell University and Columbia Law School. During the Second World War, he served with the US Army in the Middle East. He later served with the Department of State, and as a consultant to the American delegation at the organizing meeting of the United Nations in San Francisco.

Since 1947, he has been at the forefront in the struggle for a balanced US policy in the Middle East. He is the author of several acclaimed books on the Middle East, including *The Zionist Connection*. (Available from the IHR for $29, plus $3 shipping.) He now lives in Washington, DC.

This commentary is taken from Dr. Lilienthal's address at a meeting of the National Association of Arab Americans in Los Angeles, December 5, 1992.

Penn State 'Holocaust History' Course: A Lesson in Ignorance

Professor Responds to Revisionist Question By Calling Police

When *Journal* subscriber Karl Striedieck signed up in January for Professor Rose's three-credit "Holocaust History" course at Pennsylvania State University (University Park), he wasn't expecting a warm welcome for his skeptical views. Still, he wasn't quite prepared for the bigoted reception he did receive.

Striedieck, who served for 23 years as a US military fighter pilot, says that he decided to sign up for course 297C "to broaden my knowledge of the subject in a university-level course, taught by an accredited specialist on the subject."

On the first day of the Spring term class, Dr. Paul Rose warned students that they should not read any of the writings of Robert Faurisson, Arthur Butz, Arno Mayer, David Irving, or Mark Weber, or any of the publications of the Institute for Historical Review. These Revisionist historians are so clever, Rose explained, that students aren't able to see through their deceptive arguments. Thinking this a rather odd approach to take by someone supposedly dedicated to open-minded inquiry, Striedieck informed the teacher that he had, in fact, already read works by these individuals, and would appreciate a critique of their arguments. Rose responded by suggesting that the student immediately drop the course.

"Much of what Rose taught in the weeks that followed contrasted sharply with the findings of revisionist historians," recalls Striedieck. "Still, I resisted the temptation to raise awkward questions." That is, until the day when students were assigned a short story that included a claim of homicidal gas chambers at Buchenwald, a Nuremberg trial story that is now generally acknowledged as a propaganda lie.

At this point Striedieck asked: "I have been unable to find a single serious historian on either side of this issue who claims that there were homicidal gas chambers at Buchenwald. Would you please comment?" Without attempting to answer, Rose ordered Striedieck out of the classroom. The student responded by explaining that "since I haven't behaved in a manner deserving expulsion, I am staying."

In the face of this defiance, the teacher threatened to call the police to have him removed. Rose then abruptly left the room, and ten minutes later two campus policemen arrived. During Rose's absence, Striedieck gave the other students (bored until this point) an abbreviated crash course in Holocaust Revisionism. After taking his statement and listening to his account of what had happened, the police agreed with Striedieck that he had done nothing wrong, and returned with him to the classroom. Unsuccessful in his further efforts to remove the uppity student, Rose himself returned ten minutes later and finished the hour-long class. Later Striedieck met with the head of the History Department, who agreed that he was a serious student who had done nothing improper.

Professor Rose's course reflects the standards that now prevail in American academic life. More than half of class time was devoted to watching videotape presentations, many of them frankly fictional dramatizations, including "Seven Beauties," "The Garden of the Finzi-Contini," "The Wannsee Conference," "Nasty Girl," and "Europa, Europa."

Although the teacher urged students to purchase and read Michael Marrus' *The Holocaust in History*, as a "course text," Rose made no assignments or even further references to it. He did make a point of bringing to class a copy of the 1989 book about Auschwitz by French pharmacist Jean-Claude Pressac (whom Rose inaccurately identified as an engineer), and of telling students that this 564-page work thoroughly discredits the revisionists. On other occasions, Rose endorsed the Holocaust fable that Ilse Koch made lampshades from the tatooed skins of murdered Buchenwald inmates, and said that Zyklon B was not an effective pesticide.

This "Holocaust history" class might be described as a course in German-bashing, Striedieck recalls. At one point, Rose told students that the German national character is one of "mindless obedience."

Of the eight or so students who normally attended, one or two routinely nodded off during class. There were no tests or exams, and no grading policy was announced. The only requirement for this three-credit course was an eight-page paper analyzing "a single Holocaust" event, issue, episode or process from different perspectives.

Predictably, Dr. Rose did not find Striedieck's paper on Birkenau very satisfying, and gave it a "D."

— M.W.

"The arts of power and its minions are the same in all countries and in all ages. It marks the victim, denounces it, and excites the public odium and the public hatred to conceal its own abuses and encroachments."

— Henry Clay, 1834

Letters

Defining Moment

Just a note to express appreciation for the improved quality of the *Journal*. At first I did not like the shift from an academic to a magazine format, and I think I detected some grinding of gears in the change-over. But the July-August issue is a real success. I enjoyed the tantalizing selection of well-chosen and brilliantly written items covering timely, appropriate matters.

The lead article on "The Fateful Year 1898" is an excellent starting point for the new revisionist to begin the process of historical rethinking. Here is where an understanding of what has happened to our country must begin. In the shift from the America of our founders to the new world empire we lost our way, and perhaps our soul. The transition to imperialism was such a defining moment in our history that it should be dealt with more fully.

I. H.
Falls Church, Va.

Hess, Churchill, Irving

Belated congratulations on the "new" *Journal*. I was particularly interested in the material in the first two issues of 1993.

I am old enough to remember how startled we all were at the news of Rudolf Hess' flight [to England in May 1941]. Wolf Hess' presentation is an eye-opener to those for whom Rudolf Hess now is but a name. It should also touch the heart of anyone genuinely concerned with human rights.

The article about Winston Churchill in the March-April issue, sub-titled "A Slaughterhouse for Sacred Cows," is particularly well put together. The most telling summation of Churchill is your quotation from young Peter Millar, writing in *The European*.

As your report in the May-June issue indicates, there was indeed a media outcry here over the bar against Irving entering the country. As you point out, the discussion revolved around the all-important question of freedom of speech. Enclosed are cuttings from our local paper about the ban.

S. A.
Caloundra, Queensland, Australia

New Historians Association Needed?

Now retired, I obtained an A.B. degree in history many years ago from Indiana University. After reading your report [in the July-August issue] of censure by the Organization of American Historians, I wrote to give them a piece of my mind.

Knowing the agenda of the OAH, I am not interested in its version of "history." Sounds like you and like-minded colleagues should consider forming your own national organization.

W. R.
Phoenix, Ariz.

Good Diversity

Your feature article on the Spanish-American war era in the July-August issue is very well done. It is indeed wise to deal with revisionist issues in general rather than hammer away only on World War II, the Nazi regime, and the "Holocaust." Further revisionist examination of the Middle East would be in order, for example.

The new *Journal* format is excellent, and I'm very glad to see your use of photographs.

T. K.
Hornell, N.Y.

Plans Put on Hold

I was somewhat taken aback by the vehement response of E. S. of Underwood, Australia [in the July-August issue], to my critique [in the Winter 1992-93 issue] of Leon Degrelle's uncritical admiration of Hitler. I simply expressed my unhappiness at the failure of Hitler to accomplish the most important goal he set out to achieve: the destruction of Communism. Had "Operation Barbarossa" been successful, there would have been no Korean or Vietnam wars, no nuclear arms race, no super-power brinkmanship threatening the world. In the final analysis, we must acknowledge the failure of National Socialism.

Whenever I open my mailbox to find the latest issue of *The Journal of Historical Review*, I put my plans for the rest of the day on hold. By the time I read through to the last page, I have become a different person. Keep up your indispensable work.

H. P.
Norwalk, Calif.

Barbarian Western Notion

I am a Mexican citizen currently doing graduate studies in the United States. As you say, new historical research and insights normally upset entrenched interests. However, there is no single historical truth. History is relative to our social and individual context and interests.

There is something wrong with the Western concept of history, notably the belief that the truth can be found and uncovered. Pre-Columbian Americans had no notion of Absolute Truth. In the ancient Toltec society, it was the task of judges to determine which interpretation of events was more harmful, and which was more useful, for the community.

Concern with numbers of dead or killed is a barbarian Western notion. The Holocaust lobby counts, the Nazis counted, and

the IHR counts. Each unnecessary death is a crime.

Regardless of whether or not there were gas chambers in this or that wartime concentration camp, or whether six million Jews were killed, there remains the fact of deliberate persecution of Jews, Gypsies and Communists, and so forth. Their suffering is enough reason to condemn this persecution.

F. A.-G.
Washington, DC

Good Ammunition

One advantage of the new *Journal* format is that the pages can be photocopied much more easily. Because of your use of photographs and "eye-pleasing" graphic elements, they also have a more professional look.

I am making many copies of your article [in the May-June issue] about the "Liberators" fraud. Producer Nina Rosenblum will be giving a lecture soon at a nearby campus. Thanks to the *JHR*, I now have good ammunition to distribute, not to mention some uncomfortable questions for Nina herself.

L. C.
Atlanta, Ga.

Takes Issue

As a charter *Journal* subscriber, I appreciate Bradley Smith's many positive accomplishments on behalf of revisionism. Nevertheless, I must take issue with his letter in the Winter 1992-93 issue, in which he criticizes Samuel Taylor's excellent essay "The Challenge of 'Multiculturalism'."

Smith sneers at the concept of white professors teaching white history to white students. Yet, as any black, Jewish or Japanese nationalist can tell you, a people that lacks pride in its own race, history and culture is on the fast track to oblivion.

Contrary to what Smith claims, nowhere does Taylor write that scholarship should serve the interests of the "state." Smith goes on to claim that "multicultural' history — unlike the history of Western historians — asks "What really happened?" In fact, the last thing "multicultural" types desire to know is what actually happened. Or has Smith never encountered the rampant minority racism and "political correctness" mania that infects the campuses of our colleges and universities?

Finally, Smith is wrong to regard the "gas chamber" myth as part of the "white history" that he was taught as a youngster in school. Apparently he cannot distinguish between white history and alien propaganda peddled by the spineless, intimidated minions of modern academia.

M. B.
Los Angeles

Patriarchal Distortion

Thank you for sending information about *The Journal of Historical Review*. However, I do not get the point, or understand to what ends these "new" discoveries have to bear on the question of "morality" in war . . . The demise of even one human or animal, the wasting of war, cannot be tolerated or reasoned out by misguided individuals such as you.

I note also that all the members of the [*Journal*] Editorial Advisory Committee are males . . . The distortion of facts by patriarchal oppressors is nothing new under the sun. Feminists have recently unearthed some 5,000 years of patriarchal distortion of Women's herstory, including the usurpation of all knowledge, wisdom, contributions, etc. We view male revisionism with a jaundiced eye.

Ms. G. Artemis
Femina Society,
New York Chapter
Brooklyn, N.Y.

We welcome appropriate articles and reviews from female (and male) writers.

— The Editor

Splendid Speech

David Cole's speech at the IHR Conference [in the March-April issue] was splendid. He says two years yet. I think he's right. It was also wonderful to read the exposé of Churchill by other British historians.

The *Journal*'s new format is indeed worthy of much praise.

Enclosed is a small donation. I am 80 years old.

M. Z.
Buffalo, N. Y.

Little Hope

After years of involvement and observation, I now have little hope that the truth about the Holocaust story will be generally accepted anytime soon. I had long assumed that, when presented with the facts, people would respond rationally. What I didn't realize is that this society and its intellectual classes do not care for the truth at all. Indeed, a lie of this magnitude could only have flourished in a society where deceit in the interests of political expediency is generally accepted.

P. B.
Toronto, Canada

Devotion Appreciated

Congratulations! You're doing a great job. Your devotion to the cause is sincerely appreciated. Keep up the good work.

W.P.
Alexandria, Va.

ADL On the Defensive

Isn't it nice to see these guys [the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith] on the defensive for a change.

Thanks to you, I knew the score years before the rest of the press figured out what was going on.

As you continue to be proven right about so much of this stuff, people might even begin to take a closer look at you "crackpots."

Keep up the good work.

Ace Backwords
Berkeley, Calif.

Genocide Against Indians

I was very interested to read Theodore O'Keefe's review of David Stannard's *American Holocaust* in the May-June *Journal*.

Those who talk about a Holocaust of the Indians generally begin by asserting that there were 15 million Indians in North America. However, almost any encyclopedia confirms that when the Europeans first arrived, there were about one million Indians in all of North America (although substantially more in South and Central America). [The *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1957 edition, Vol. 12, p. 203, reports that the total "Aboriginal Indian Population, North of Mexico" when coming into contact with Europeans was 1,153,000. — The Editor.]

North America was almost entirely empty when the Europeans arrived. The area of modern-day Ohio, for example, contained only a few Indian villages in the southern part of the state. The area of today's West Virginia was entirely empty, except for a few hunting trails. The only area that was full of Indians when the whites came was California, where 75,000 of them were killed by miners. The Indians of North America have disappeared largely through race-mixing.

The principal source for the accounts of Spanish atrocities in South America is *Historia de las Indias* of Bartolomé de Las Casas (1474-1566). Although I have never read anything to indicate that *Historia* is not authentic, it does seem odd that it was not published until 1875-86, three centuries after the author's death.

In some cases, the Spanish appear to have exaggerated their own atrocities. Hernando Cortés claimed to have destroyed, with a handful of soldiers, the buildings of a city of 200,000 people and 60,000 houses (without iron tools or explosives). This can only have been true if he forced the Indians to tear down their own mud huts.

The Spanish are said to have killed one million Indians in Haiti alone; this would be equivalent to the total original population of Indians in all of North America.

Generally, the Spanish attacked decaying empires built on conquest. In Yucatan, they found huge cities that were totally deserted as a result of soil exhaustion, drought or pestilence.

It is often simply assumed that the native Indians were exterminated by the Spanish alone. Pizarro attacked the Empire of Peru with 187 followers, mostly adventurers and criminals. His success was possible only by exploiting the rivalries of subject tribes (who were enslaved, of course). One might almost consider the Spanish to have "liberated" these subject tribes.

The Peruvians have forgotten their own role in the enslavement of Chinese contract laborers who had been brought over to exploit the guano deposits on the Chinchas Islands in the 1870s, after the abolition of Negro slavery. Of 4,000 Chinese forced to work under the lash, not one survived, and most committed suicide by jumping off sheer cliffs. (The wealth produced in this operation led to a wave of financial speculation in Lima followed by a panic and crash.) I do not hear the Peruvians offering to pay reparations to the Chinese.

C. P.
Sart-Les-Spa, Belgium

Time Has Come

I agree! Historical Revisionism is a movement whose time has come. Please enter my subscription.

B. D.
Sylacauga, Alabama

A Salute

To offset the gaseous billowing of political correctness that infects even the conservative Christian school that our children attend, I plan to have them read the *Journal* and other IHR materials. I salute your courage.

S.A.
Los Angeles, Calif.

Prefers Old Format

Although I recognize that the new *Journal* format makes it more accessible, even more readable, I prefer the old format. It appeared more scholarly, and thus, I think, was better able to reach opinion makers. What has not changed is the quality, which remains consistently high.

B.D.
Wendell, N.C.

Origins of Christianity

Please do not give further support to Dr. Larson's wrong-headed opinions about the Dead Sea Scrolls. ("The Essene Origins of Jesus' Teachings," March-April 1993.) Dr. Surburg and Rev. Otten have already discredited Larson's arguments. [See Rev. Otten's letter in the *Journal*, Fall 1991, pp. 378-79]. Unless you drop this, you will lose Christian supporters.

Moreover, your comparison of Mithraism and Christianity is superficial and mistaken. Mithraism was a cult of secrets. Christianity was, and is, open and public. Mithraists practiced animal sacrifices, but Christians banned it.

M.C.
Pittsburgh, Pa.

With regard to the article by Martin Larson — whose book *Religion of the Occident* I read when it first appeared in 1959: Then as now, my only disagreement with the Essene thesis is the claim that Jesus is a historical character. Except for the gospels, which were written long after the events they supposedly depict, history is strangely silent about Jesus.

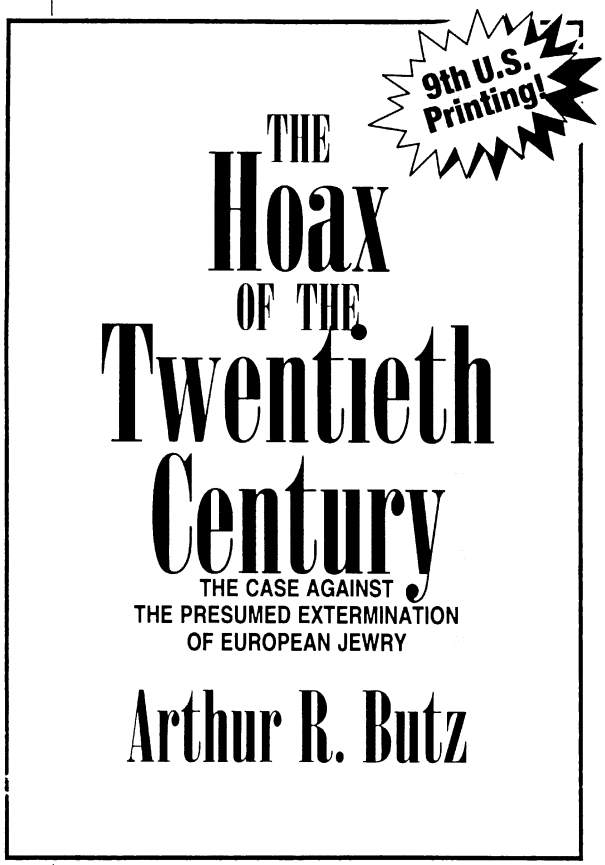
J.E.
Hot Springs, Mont.

We welcome letters from readers. We reserve the right to edit for style and space.

The Unsurpassed Standard Refutation

THE HOAX OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

THE CASE AGAINST THE PRESUMED EXTERMINATION OF EUROPEAN JEWRY



Yehuda Bauer and Prof. Moshe Davis agreed that there is a "recession in guilt feeling" over the Holocaust, encouraged by fresh arguments that the reported extermination of six million Jews during World War II never took place... "You know, it's not difficult to fabricate history," Davis added. —Chicago *Sun-Times*, Oct. 25, 1977

You can't discuss the truth of the Holocaust. That's a distortion of freedom of speech. The U.S. should emulate West Germany, which outlaws such public exercises. —Franklin Littell, Temple University. Quoted in: *Jerusalem Post*, weekly edition, Oct. 19-25, 1980

IN SPITE OF THE MANY IMPORTANT BREAKTHROUGHS in Revisionist scholarship since it was first published in 1976, Dr. Butz' pathbreaking study remains unsurpassed as the standard scholarly refutation of the Holocaust extermination story.

In more than 400 pages of penetrating analysis and lucid commentary, he gives the reader a graduate course on the fate of Europe's Jews during the Second World War. He scrupulously separates the cold facts from the tonnage of stereotyped myth and propaganda that has served as a formidable barrier to the truth for half a century.

Chapter by solidly referenced chapter, he applies the scholar's rigorous technique to every major aspect of the Six Million legend, carefully explaining his startling conclusion that "the Jews of Europe were not exterminated and there was no German attempt to exterminate them."

Focusing on the postwar "war crimes trials," where the prosecution's evidence was falsified and secured by coercion and even torture, Dr. Butz re-examines the very German records so long misrepresented. Reviewing the demographic statistics which do not allow for the loss of the "Six Million," he concludes that perhaps a million Jews may have perished in the turmoil of deportation, internment and war. He re-evaluates the concept and technical feasibility of the legendary extermination "gas chambers."

Maligned by people who have made no effort to read it, denounced by those unable to refute its thesis, ***The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*** has sent shock waves through the academic and political world. So threatening has it been to the international Holocaust lobby that its open sale has been banned in several countries, including Israel, Germany and Canada.

In four important supplements contained in this edition (including his lecture presented to the Eleventh International Revisionist Conference, October, 1992) the author reports on key aspects of the continuing international Holocaust controversy.

Now in its ninth US printing, this semi-underground best seller remains the most widely read Revisionist work on the subject — must reading for anyone who wants a clear picture of the scope and magnitude of the historical cover-up of the age.

Dr. Arthur R. Butz was born and raised in New York City. He received his Bachelor of Science and Master of Science degrees in Electrical Engineering from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In 1965 he received his doctorate in Control Sciences from the University of Minnesota. In 1966 he joined the faculty of Northwestern University (Evanston, Illinois), where he is now Associate Professor of Electrical Engineering and Computer Sciences. Dr. Butz is the author of numerous technical papers. Since 1980 he has been a member of the Editorial Advisory Committee of *The Journal of Historical Review*, published by the Institute for Historical Review.

New, Quality Softcover Edition • 403 pages • $9.95 + $2 shipping
ISBN 0-939484-46-3 • Published by Institute for Historical Review

Hear Prof. Butz on Audiotape from three Revisionist Conferences ($9.95 ea. + $1 postage)
1979—The International "Holocaust" Controversy
1982—Context and Perspective in the "Holocaust" Controversy
1992—Some Thoughts on Pressac's Opus

Advance to Barbarism

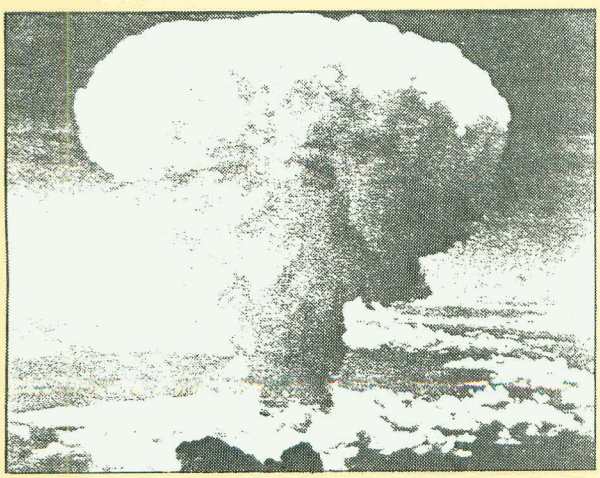
THE DEVELOPMENT OF TOTAL WARFARE

F.J.P. Veale

In this eloquent and provocative work, an English attorney with a profound understanding of military history traces the evolution of warfare from primitive savagery to the rise of a "civilized" code that was first threatened in our own Civil War, again in the First World War, and finally shattered during the Second World War — the most destructive conflict in history.

As the author compellingly argues, the ensuing "War Crimes Trials" at Nuremberg and Tokyo, and their more numerous and barbaric imitations in Communist-controlled eastern Europe, established the perilous principle that "the most serious war crime is to be on the losing side."

Out of print for many years, this classic work of revisionist history — a moving denunciation of hate-propaganda and barbarism — is once again available in a well-referenced new IHR edition with a detailed index.



CRITICAL PRAISE FOR *ADVANCE TO BARBARISM:*

This is a relentlessly truth-speaking book. The truths it speaks are bitter, but of paramount importance if civilization is to survive. —**Max Eastman**

I have read the book with deep interest and enthusiasm. It is original in its approach to modern warfare, cogent and convincing. . . His indictment of modern warfare and post-war trials must stand. —**Norman Thomas**

The best general book on the Nuremberg Trials. It not only reveals the illegality, fundamental immorality and hypocrisy of these trials, but also shows how they are bound to make any future world wars (or any important wars) far more brutal and destructive to life and property. A very readable and impressive volume and a major contribution to any rational peace movement. —**Harry Elmer Barnes**

. . . Indispensable to earnest students of the nature and effects of warfare. It contains trenchant criticisms of the Nuremberg trials, and it exposes the stupidities of "peace-loving" politicians. —**Francis Neilson**

. . . A very outstanding book . . . —**General J.F.C. Fuller**

This is a book of great importance. Displaying the rare combination of a deep knowledge of military history and an acute legal insight, it is a brilliant and courageous exposition of the case for civilization. —**Captain Russell Grenfell**

ADVANCE TO BARBARISM
by Frederick J.P. Veale

Quality Softcover • 363 pages • $11.00
ISBN 0-939484-45-5
INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW
Post Office Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659